

# HADĪTH LITERATURE

*Its Origin, Development, Special Features and Criticism.*

# HADĪTH LITERATURE

ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, SPECIAL FEATURES AND CRITICISM

*By*

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TO  
THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

أعديك غير مكافئ منك واحد  
من الأيادي التي لم يغوها الغد

( العلي )

To thee I dedicate (this) although it does not requite  
even one of thy favours (the memory of) which has not  
been obliterated by Time.



## PREFACE

This little book has been composed in order to present to the English-reading public, Muslim as well as non-Muslim, the viewpoint of orthodox Islam with regard to Hadith Literature, its origin and development, and its criticism by the Muslim doctors. For in English, there has been published only one book on the subject (*The Traditions of Islam* by Alfred Guillaume, Oxford, 1924). But it does not represent the Muslim point of view. In other European languages (like German, French and Dutch) there have been published several highly learned and critical works on *Hadith*. But none of them represents the orthodox Islamic views.

This book was begun in 1930 and was almost completed in 1936. In composing it, have been utilized not only many of the important works of the modern European Orientalists, but also a large part of the original Arabic sources some of which (so far as I know) have not been fully utilized upto now. The reader, therefore, may find in this work some important materials which may not be available in any of the European works on the subject.

Some parts of this book were published in *The Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference* (1937), pp. 187-206, in the *Proceedings of the Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islāmiya*, Lahore (1933), pp. 61-71; and an Arabic translation of Chapter VI ("The Special Features of Hadith Literature") was published as a part of *al-Mabāḥith al-'Ilmiyah*, by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif of Hyderabad (India) in 1939. But the book could not be published upto now on account of circumstances which need not be mentioned. It was in 1959 that the University Grants Commission of India and the Calcutta University provided the necessary funds for its publication. I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to them for this favour, and also to Dr. G.C. Raychaudhury, the present Registrar of Calcutta University, for his sympathy and keen interest in

the publication of the book. I must also express my heartfelt thanks to Dr. S.A. Kamali, a young competent scholar of Arabic, well-trained in the modern method of literary research, who, very kindly, checked the references in the book, gave me ungrudging help in reading its proofs, and prepared the list of abbreviations and the Index. My thanks are also due to Dr. M.W. Mirza of Lucknow, who translated (from Turkish into English) for me, a passage from an article of Prof. Ahmed Ates (see p. 138); to Mawlana Mukhtār Ahmad Nadwi (a keen and critical student of Hadīth), who found out for me some references to some Hadīth-works and Hāji Muḥammad Yūsuf, the Librarian and the owner (respectively) of the Hāji 'Abd Allah Library, Calcutta, for lending me several books on Hadīth from their Library.

At the end, I must add that if the perusal of this book creates an active interest in Hadīth-Literature and Islamic Culture among the young Indian scholars of Arabic and of Islam, I will consider my long, hard work for several years, amply rewarded.

November 1, 1961

M.Z.S.



## ERRATA

*Please correct the following before reading.*

P.	L.	FOR	PLEASE READ
3	19	topics	topic
7	6	hid	his
12	1	words	works
29	26	<i>ai-nār</i>	<i>al-nār</i>
	37	JT,	JT2,
58	18	Kirām	Karrām
71	15	<i>Tabi' 'un</i>	<i>Tābi'ūn</i>
78	31	quickly	quietly
88	27	compilation his	compilation of his
95	15	whcih	which
96	12	work	word
97	9	trxt	text
	25	featuses	features
	33	<i>al-'Ibm</i>	<i>al-'Ilm</i>
		al-Kha'ṭi'b	al-Khaṭīb
99	7	adhrence	adherence
107	4	n Mesopotamia,	in Mesopotamia,
	31	noteds	notes
110	33	b. ḡansal	b. ḡanbal
169	35	<i>Ibid.</i>	FN, 99f.
174	17	<i>Riṭāl</i>	<i>Rijāl</i>
189	1	Chapter IX	Chapter VIII

# CONTENTS

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## ABBREVIATIONS

## INTRODUCTION

Chapter I	<i>Hadith</i>	1
	The Significance of <i>Hadith</i>	
	<i>Hadith</i> and <i>Sunnah</i>	2
	<i>Hadith</i> —a subject of keen interest	
	The writing of <i>Aḥādith</i>	6
	The Collection of <i>Aḥādith</i>	8
	The <i>Muwatṭa</i>	11
	The legal and historical traditions	13
	Classification of books of <i>Hadith</i>	14
Chapter II	<i>Hadith</i> and the Companions	21
	Significance of the term <i>Ṣaḥābī</i>	
	The number of the Companions	
	The Companions who related traditions	22
	The number of traditions related by them	
	The problem of the prohibition and permissibility of <i>Kitābat</i> (of <i>Hadith</i> )	37
Chapter III	<i>Hadith</i> after the death of the Companion	46
	The Followers and their classification	
	The traditionists' devotion to <i>Hadith</i>	48
	Their number	50
	Forgery in <i>Hadith</i> , its causes and various classes of forgers	52
	The honest and critical traditionists of various periods	59
	The criticism of the reporters	62
	Travels in quest of knowledge (traditions)	66
Chapter IV	<i>Hadith</i> Literature	71
	The Beginnings	
	Many of the <i>Musnads</i> ascribed to early authors were compiled long after them	73



The <i>Musnad</i> of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī and his life	74
The <i>Musnad</i> of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his life	77
The <i>Muṣannaf</i> Works	87
The <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> of al-Bukhārī and his life	88
The <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> of Muslim and his life	97
Chapter V <i>Hadīth</i> Literature—contd.	102
The <i>Sunan</i> Works	
The <i>Sunan</i> of Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī and his life	
The <i>Jāmi'</i> of al-Tirmidhī and his life	107
The <i>Sunan</i> of al-Nasā'ī and his life	112
The <i>Sunan</i> of al-Dārimī and his life	113
The <i>Sunan</i> of Ibn Māja and his life	115
The <i>Sunan</i> of al-Dāraquṭnī and his life	116
The <i>Sunan</i> of al-Bayhaqī and his life	118
The <i>Sunan</i> of Sa'id b. Mansūr and his life	119
The <i>Sunan</i> of Abū Muslim al-Kashshī and his life	
The <i>Mu'jam</i> Works, the <i>Mu'jams</i> of al-Ṭabarānī & his life	120
The importance of the various works in <i>Hadīth</i> Literature	122
Chapter VI Some of the Special Features of the <i>Hadīth</i> Literature	126
Forgery in <i>Hadīth</i> and its beginning	127
The System of <i>Isnād</i> (Chain of Transmitters)	129
The problem of its origin, its use by the Jews, the remarks of Ibn Ḥazm, its use by the Indians, its earliest application to <i>Hadīth</i> , its development by the Muslims, its application to the Arabic Mss.	
The part played by women in the transmission and cultivation of <i>Hadīth</i> and <i>Hadīth</i> Literature	142
The important women traditionists of the various periods	
The integrity and independence of the traditionists	154
The exactitude of the traditionists, [the preliminaries and methods of learning, teaching and writing <i>Hadīth</i> ].	156

Chapter VII The Sciences of Tradition	164
<i>Asmā' al-Rijāl</i> [Chronology, Biography and Criticism of the Narrators of Ḥadīth]	165
Ibn Sa'd, his <i>Ṭabaqāt</i> and its importance	171
<i>Kitāb al-Tā'rikh</i> of al-Bukhārī	178
<i>Uṣd al-Ghāba</i>	181
The <i>Iṣāba</i> of Ibn Hajar and his life	
al-Khaṭīb and his <i>Tā'rikh-u-Baghdād</i>	183
Ibn al-'Asākir and his History of Damascus	186
Chapter VIII The Sciences of Tradition—contd.	189
Criticism of reporters of an event in the Qur'ān, by the Prophet, the Companions and their successors.	
Development of the science of 'formal' criticism	191
Classifications of Aḥādīth	192
The legal importance of traditions	194
'Material' criticism of the texts of traditions and its principles	200
Examples of criticism of the text	202
Index	205

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 Colophon of a MS. of the *Musnad* of Imâm Shâfi'i at the Mu'ad Mulla Library, Istanbul No. 570 Copied in the year 661 A.H. (Corresponding to pp. 218f. in the printed edition printed at Arrah in India, 1889) This is one of the earliest MSS. of Hadith collections, the earliest one known to me being the MS. of what is said to be *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (see p. 138).

...Facing p. 73

- 2 A page from the MS. of *al-Muṣṣaṭṭaḥ fi al-Ḥaḍīth* described in OPC. v, part 2, pp. 191ff. No. 462

- i Certificate of reading the MS. Teacher : Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Wānī Students whose names are mentioned, about 20 in number Place : the house of al-Wānī in Damascus Date 21.8.732 A.H.
- ii Certificate of reading the MS. Teacher : 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Maṣdūd & 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Aḥad Place : Samsāṭiyah Monastery in Damascus. Date 15.11.732 A.H.
- iii Certificate of reading the MS. Teacher : Ṣaḥīyah (the daughter of Aḥmad, and the wife of Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar) Students (men and women) about 10 in number Place : Damascus Date 5.11.739 A.H.
- iv) Certificate of reading the MS. Teachers : Ṣaḥīyah and her husband mentioned above Students (men and women) about 30 in number Place : Damascus Date 23.3.734 A.H.

Facing p. 142

3. Pages from a MS *al-Mashkhat n.a. al-Takhrīḡ* by 'Alī b Ahmad Ibn al-Bukhārī (described in OPC, v, part 2 pp 51ff., No. 322) : -

- i) Certificate of reading the MS (11 sittings) Teacher the author Ibn al-Bukhārī Students men and women more than 500 Place Jāmi 'Umar, Damascus Date 687 A H
- ii) Certificate of reading the MS (6 sittings) Teacher 'Alī b Ibrāhīm al-Sayrafī Students men and women more than 200 Place Aleppo Date 135,736 A H

....Facing p. 153



## ABBREVIATIONS

- Arks *Index del Islam Leone Caetani* Vols. xviii, xix, 1903-1918 vols. ix-x Rome, 1926
- ArH *Lectures on Arabic Historians* D. S. Margoliouth Calcutta, 1930
- ArM *Ibn al-Haytham and the Muḥtaṣṣa* W. M. Patton Leiden, 1897
- AI *al-Akhhār al-Fuḥāl* Abu Hanīfa Dīnawarī Leiden, 1888
- Arb *Annals Tarikh al-Rusul wa'l-Muluk* Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ṭabarī Ed. by Th. Nöldeke *et al.* Leiden, 1879
- Bla *Bulugh al-maraṣṣa min adillat al-ahkām* Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī. Delhi, 1325 A.H.
- BM *Bastan al-Mahaddithin* Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī Delhi, 1898
- CHI *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* P. Cordier, Paris, 1915 (vol. m).
- DK *al-Durar al-Kamīnah* Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī Hyderabad India, 1348-50 A.H. 4 vols
- DL *al-Daw' al-Lānu'* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Saklawī Cairo, 1353-55 A.H. 12 vols
- Fls *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* Ed. by M. Th. Houtsma *et al.* Leiden, 1927.
- Elsp *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* New Edition Ed. by J. H. Kramers, H. A. R. Gibb *et al.* Leiden, 1954. Vol. 3, fasc. 1-16
- Flss *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* Ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, J. H. Kramers Leiden, 1953

- FB** *Fath al-Bar*, commentary on *Shih al-Bukhārī* Ibn Hajar 'Asqalanī. Ed. by Malmūd Jantāwī. Egypt, 1319 A.H.
- FBn** *Futūḥ al-Buldan* Abu al-Abbās Ahmad al-Baḥārī. Ed. by M. J. de Goeje. Leiden 1866.
- FFM** *al-Fisal fī al-Milal* Abu Muhammad Ali b. Ahmad Ibn Hazm. Ed. by Abd al-Rahmān Khahitah. Cairo, 1317-48 A.H. 5 vols.
- FM** *Fath al-Mughath* commentary on *Zayn al-Din Iraqis Hiyah* Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Sakhāwī. Lucknow, n.d.
- FMj** *al-Farā'id al-Ma'mū'ah fī Bayān al-Aḥādith al-Mawdu'ah* Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Shaukānī. Lahore 1223 (1323?) A.H.
- FN** *al-Fihrist* Ibn al-Nadīm. Ed. by Gustav Flügel. Leipzig, 1871-72. 2 vols.
- GAl.** *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* C. Brockelmann. Leiden, 1937.
- GI** *Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien* Accompanied by the *Register zu den G.F.* Ferdinand Wustenfeld. Göttingen 1852-53.
- HB** *Huṣṣat Allah al-Bālighah* Shāh Wabiy Allāh Dīhlawī. Cairo, 1352 A. H.
- HH** *Hayat al-Hayawān* Kamāl al-Dīn al-Damirī. Būlāq 1274 A. H. 2 vols.
- HII** *History of Indian Literature* M. Winternitz. Calcutta University Press, 1927.
- HNH** *A History of Muslim Historiography* Franz Rosenthal. Leiden, 1952.
- IC** *Islamic Culture* Hyderabad India.

- IA *al-Ihtam fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkam* Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Ahmad Ibn Ḥazm. Cairo, 1345-47 A.H. 8 parts
- IMA *al-Iṣṭiṣāḥ fī Maṣṣaḥat al-Aḥbāb* Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. Hyderabad (India), 1318 A.H.
- IS *Irshād al-Sārī* commentary on *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Qistalānī. Buḥārā, 1265 A.H.
- ITS *a-Isabah fī Tam’īn al-Shābah* Ibn Ḥajar ‘Asqalānī. Ed. by Muḥammad Wāḥi. V. Springer et al. Calcutta: Asiatic Society. 1876-88. 3 vols.
- JA *Jamharat Anyab al-Arab* Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Ahmad Ibn Ḥazm. MS. Library of M. Z. S. d. p.
- JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta.
- JB1 *Jamī Bayan al-Ilm u’-Fadhli* Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. Cairo, n.d. 2 vols.
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. London.
- JT *Jamī al-Tirmidhi* with *Kitāb al-Samā’i* and *Kitāb al-‘Ul*. Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad b. ‘Isā al-Tirmidhī. Delhi, 1315 A.H. 2 vols.
- J12 —Delhi, 1350 A.H.
- JT (Ah) —With commentary *Tuhfat al-Ahwadhī* by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Maḥārakpurī. Delhi, 1346-1353 A.H. 4 vols.
- KAg *Kitāb al-Aghām* Abū al-Faraj Isḥāq b. Ahmad al-Shinqitī. Cairo. 1323 A.H. 21 parts.
- KAS *Kitāb al-Ansab*. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam’ānī. With an intro. by D.S. Margoliouth. London, 1912. E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series.

- KI** *Kitāb al-Imdād* Jamāl al-Dīn Abd Allāh b. Salm al-Basrī al-Makkī. Hyderabad (India), 1327, A.H.
- KIA** *Ta'rikh al-Kamil* Abū al-Hasan Ali b. Muhammad Ibn al-Athīr. Cairo, 1301 A.H.
- KIF** *Kitāb-nāf Istiqhāt al-Funūn* Muhammad 'Alī Talānawī. Ed. by A. Sprenger. Calcutta, 1854.
- KK** *Kitāb al-Kāmil* Abū al-'Abbās Muhammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad. Ed. by W. Wright. Leipzig, 1864. 2 vols. (12 parts)
- KK<sub>1</sub>** *Kitāb al-Kifāyah* al-Khatīb al-Bighdādī. Published with an intro. by Y. Fakh. 1949.
- KQ** *Kitāb al-Wulat u' Kitāb al-Qudat* Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Kinnī al-Masrī. Leiden, 1912. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series.
- KZ** *Kashf al-Zunūn* Mustafā b. 'Abd Allāh Ḥujjī Khālifāh. Ed. by Gustav Flügel. Leipzig, 1835-42. 6 vols.
- LH** *A Literary History of the Arabs*. Reynold A. Nicholson. Cambridge University Press, 1930.
- IM** *Iṣān al-Mizān* Ibn Hajar 'Asqarānī. Hyderabad (India), 1329-31 A. H. 6 vols.
- LMu** *Life of Mahomet*. William Muir. Ed. by T. H. Weir. Edinburgh, 1912.
- Mhb** *The Mahabharata*. Tr. into English by P. C. Roy. Calcutta, 1883.
- Mis** *Mishkāt al-Masābih* Walīy al-Dīn Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-'Umari al-Tibrizī. Lucknow, 1326 A. H.
- MAA** *Muqaddimah* (to a Persian commentary on *Mis*) 'Abd al-Haq Dildawī. Delhi, 1256 A.H.



- MAH *Muḥad* al-Imam Abū 'Abd Allāh Ahmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal. Ed. by Muhammad Glanawi. Egypt, 1313 A.H. 6 vols.
- MAH2 Ed. by Ahmad Muḥammad Shakir. Cairo, 1949-55 (vols. i-xvi).
- MAI *Musnad* Abū Daūd al-Jayāsi. Hyderabad (India), 1321 A.H.
- MHn *Muḥṣan al-Ḥuṣṣan* Abū 'Abd Allāh Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh. Ed. by F. Wassenfeld. Leipzig, 1924, 6 vols.
- MFB *Muḥṣan al-Fath al-Bari* Ibn Hajar. Asqaland Delhi, 1302 A.H.
- MHc *Muḥṣan al-Ḥudūd fi Naqd al-Riḥāl* Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī. Egypt, 1325 A.H. 3 vols.
- MIS *Uṣṣun al-Ḥadīth Muḥṣan al-Ḥuṣṣan* 'Uthmān b. 'Abī al-Rahman Ḥuṣn al-Sidāh. Egypt, 1326 A.H.
- MI *al-Muḥṣan al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥadīth* Alḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qastallānī. With a commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Baqī al-Zarqan. Egypt, 1291 A.H. 8 vols.
- MSn *Muḥṣan al-Sunna* Husayn b. Ma'sūd al-Shāfi'ī al-Baghawī. Cairo, n.d. 2 vols.
- MSc *Muḥṣan al-Studien* Ignaz Goldziher. Halle, 1889.
- MUd *Muḥṣan al-Ḥadīth* Abū 'Abd Allāh Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh. Ed. by D. S. Margoliouth. 2nd ed. London, 1923-25.
- NA *Nar al-Anwar* commentary on *al-Manar*. Mullā Jiwān. Calcutta, 1359/1940.
- NS *Ta'rikh al-Nar al-Shāfi'ī 'an Akhbār al-Qarn al-'Āshir* Muḥ'iy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydārūsī. Ed. by Muḥammad Rashīd al-Ṣaḥfār. Baghdad, 1353 A.H.

- NSM      *Commentary on Sahih Muslim* Abu Zakariyā Yahya al-Nawāwī.
- NT      *Nafh al-Jib* Ahmad al-Magīribī al-Maqqarī Cairo, 1302 A H
- OIS      *The Origins of the Islamic State* Tr of Ibn Philapp Hitti, Francis Clark Murgotten Columbia University, 1924
- OC      *Culturgeschichte des Orients* Von Kremer Tr as *Orient under the Caliphs* by S. Khata Bakshi Calcutta University, 1920.
- OPC      *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* Patna, 1921 vol. v, part 1, 1925 vol. v, part 2 1927 (vol. xii).
- Q1      *Qif al-Thamar* Ṣalīh b. Muḥammad Umari Hyderabad India, 1328 A H
- RAH      *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* J. Wellhausen Berlin, 1897.
- RFUH      *Risālah dar Fann-i-Usul-i Hādith 'Ulā ah-i-Najr ah* Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī Delhi 1255 A H
- RSh      *Risālah al-Imām Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'i* Cairo, 1312 A.H.
- Sh      *Der Imam el-Schafi'i seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum J. 300 d H* F. Wustenfeld Göttingen, 1890
- ShD      *Shadharat al-Dhahab* Abū al-Fidā 'Abd al-Ḥa'iy Ibn 'Imād al-Hanbalī Cairo, 1351 A H 8 vols
- SAD      *Sunan* Abū Dā'ūd Siyistānī Ed. by 'Abd al-Aḥad, Delhi, 1346 A.H. 2 vols.
- SAP      *Studies in Arabic and Persian Medical Literature* Muḥammad Zubayr Ṣiddiqī Calcutta University, 1959

- SB *al-Jawā'ir al-Sayyid* Abū 'Alī Allah Muhammad b. Ismā'īl b-Bakrān. Ed. by Muhammad al-Zuhri. Egypt, 1309 A.H.
- SD *Sana'at* Abu Muhammad al-Darīmī. Ed. by 'Abd al-Risā'id al-Kashmūrī. Kanpur, 1292-93 A.H.
- SDq *Sana'at* A. b. Umar al-Daraqutnī. Ed. by Shams al-Haqq 'Azīmābādī. Delhi, n.d.
- SHM *Sibjāt Hamam b. Munabbih* Hammām b. Munabbih. Ed. by Hamidullah. 5th ed. Paris, 1380 A.H.
- SIM *siyāsa* Ibr. Maḥmūd Qizwī. Delhi, 1333 A.H.
- SM *Sihāt al-Mulūk* Mas'ūd b. al-Hajjāj al-Qushayrī. Delhi, 1309 A.H.
- SMI *Commentary on Imām Malik's Muwaṭṭā'* Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Bāq al-Zarqanī. Egypt 1310 A.H.
- SN *Sināt al-Nabī* Sīd al-Nu'mānī. Azamgarh, 1339 A.H.
- SU'A *Sināt 'Umar b. al-Dīn* 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jauzī. Egypt, 1331 A.H.
- TA *Ta'lib al-Tarā'if* Abū Zakariyā Yahyā al-Nawāwī. Ed. by F. Wusterfeld. Göttingen, 1812-17.
- TB *Ta'rikh Baghdat* Abū Bakr Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Khatīb al-Baghdatī. Cairo, 1349 A.H. 14 vols.
- TBT *Ta'rikh Baghdat* Iyṣūr Ahmad b. Abī Ṭāhir. Vol. vi translated into German by H. Keller. Leipzig, 1908.
- TD *Ta'rikh Dimashq (al-Ta'rikh al-kabir)* Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Hasan Ibn al-'Asakir. Ed. by 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān. Syria, 1332 A.H.
- TFA *Ta'rikh Fuḥm al-Athar* 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Jauzī. Ed. by Muhammad Yūsuf Barely. Delhi, n.d.

- TH *Tabaqât al-Hafiz* abridgement of TdH Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî. Ed. by F. Wustenfeld Göttingen 1833
- TdH *Tathkirat al-Hafiz* Saïms al-Dîn Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Dhahabî. Ed. by Sayyid Mustafâ Abî Hyderabad (India), 1330 A.H. 4 vols
- Tim *Taqwîd al-Ilm* Abû Bakr Ahmad b. Abî al-Kharrîb al-Baghdadî. Ed. by Yusuf al-Ishîr Damascus, 1949
- TI *The Traditions of Imam* Alfred Guillaume Oxford 1924
- TIS *Kitâb al-Tabaqât al-Kabîr* Muhammad Ibn Saïd kâtib al-Wâqîr Ed. by Edward Sachau et al Leiden, 1904-18
- TK *Tabaqat al-Shâfiyyah al-Kabîr* Izz al-Dîn Abû Nasr Abd al-Wahbâb al-Subkî Egypt
- TKh *Ta'rikh al-Ahmayy* Husayn b. Muhammad Diyâr-bekrî. Egypt, 1309 (?) A.H
- TN *Tanbih al-Nâzir ilâ 'Ulûl al-Ahwal* Jâhûr b. Şalih al-Jazâ'irî. Egypt, 1328 A.H
- TR *Tadrib al-Rauî* commentary on Abû Zikariyâ Yahyâ al-Nawâwis *al-Taqrîb u'al-Tawîr* Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî Egypt 1307 A.H
- TT *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* Ibn Hajar Asqalani Hyderabad (India) 1326 A.H. 12 vols.
- UGh *U'ud al-Ghubbah fî Marârif al-Sahâbah* Izz al-Dîn Ibn al-Athîr Egypt, 1280 A.H. 5 vols
- UH *Marifat Ulûm al-Hadith* al-Hâkim Abû Abd Allâh Muhammad b. 'Alî Allâh al-Nishâpûrî Ed. by Mu'azzam Husayn Cairo 1937



- WA *Ḥaṣṣat al-Fur* Ibn Khallikān 1d by 1  
Weinreb, Göttingen, 1850 2 vols
- YD *Ḥaṣṣat al-Fur* Abū Mansūr Abū al-Mahk al-  
Farrāḥī Egypt 1852 A H 4 vols
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*  
Leipzig
- ZM *Ḥaṣṣat al-Fur* Ibn Qāsim Junzayhī Kanpur  
1298 A H

## INTRODUCTION

The history of the origin, development and mission of *Hadieth* Literature is an important as well as an interesting subject.

It is important because it serves as a source of information for the history of pre-Islamic Arabia and of early Islam and for the development of Arabic Literature as well as of Islamic thought in general and of Islamic law in particular. It also played an important part in establishing a common culture for the whole Islamic world<sup>1</sup>. It is still wielding a great influence on the minds of the Muslims<sup>2</sup> and is bound to influence them in the future also. It is interesting because it throws a flood of light on the psychology of the Transmitters, the poets as well as the Forgers, and on many of the political and cultural movements which originated and developed in the various parts of the Muslim world throughout the past history of Islam. It also contains many of the basic ideas concerning Democracy, the equality of all men and nations, condemnation of Aggression, development of the power to defend oneself and the establishment of peace in the world, and many other basic problems which are assuring the minds of modern peoples.

The Muslims since the life-time of their Prophet<sup>3</sup> and the Western scholars and Orientalists for about the last 200 years, therefore, took keen interest in *Hadieth*, in *Hadieth* Literature and in its criticism. During the time of the Prophet,

1) This has been shown by Prof. J. E. A. in his learned article (De Rôle de Traditionnalisme en Islam) ZDMG, 1909, pp. 1-32.

2) Cf. Preface, 6.

3) The text of Saheeh (i.e. OMJ) that *Hadieth* was not accepted as an authority until the time of al-Saabi is refuted by the general acceptance by all the transmitters as well as the Orientalists of the fact that not long after the Prophet's death a large number of traditions were forged by all the political sectaries and other Muslim parties in support of what they asserted. For if *Hadieth* was not accepted by all the Muslims as an authority, there would be no sense in forging *Ahadith* for any purpose.

his Companions eagerly learnt *Ahadith* from him. Many of them wrote them down, collected them, and spread them among their coreligionists. A large number of *Ahadith* were collected and spread through out the vast Islamic empire partly at writing and partly orally, before the end of the first century of Hira. During the following centuries edicts were made to compile more or less exhaustive collections of *Ahadith* which were considered to be reliable and long arduous journeys were undertaken for this purpose. Thus, partly in the second century of the Hira, but largely in the third, important collections of such *Ahadith* as were considered to be reliable were compiled and published. As some *Ahadith* were forged during the life time of the Prophet, care was taken since that very period to determine their reliability. For the sake of it was introduced the system of *Isnad* which was applied to *Hadith* at an early period and was treated as a necessary part of every individual tradition, not long after the beginning of the second century of Hira and by and by there were developed various branches of literature which served as foundations for the criticism of every individual *Hadith*. As the *Isnad* was not considered to be the sure guarantee of the genuineness of a *Hadith* certain general principles were laid down in order to test the truth of its text. It has been, however, generally accepted by the traditionists that the truth of a tradition is determined by the faculty that is developed by the specialists in the subject, by means of long continuous study of traditions and by means of constant discussions about them with other specialists, and by acquiring a deep insight into them. All these matters have been discussed briefly in this book.

The Western scholars have been taking keen interest in *Hadith* collections as well as in other branches of literature connected with *Hadith*, for about 230 years. They made a critical study of *Hadith*, edited and published many of the original Arabic works on these subjects, translated some of them into their own languages, and wrote learned treatises and critical articles on some of the intricate basic problems relating to *Hadith* Literature. Some of them published a

comprehensive and highly critical account of the origin and the development of the subject, discussed many fundamental problems relating to it, and described most of the important *Hadith* works, and pointed out their merits and demerits. A brief account of their important contributions to the study of *Hadith* till about 1920 has been given by Dr. Gustav Pfannkötter in his *Handbuch der Islam Literatur* Berlin, Leipzig 1923.

Among them, A. Sprenger, Edward F. Schieffery, O. V. Houdas, L. Kitch, I. Goldziher, J. W. Javedani, J. Hooverz and A. J. Wensinck made important contributions to the study of our subject, and W. Watt, J. Schacht, J. Robson and some others are still engaged in the keen critical study of *Hadith* Literature, and are making some important contributions to its history and criticism.

They raised some fundamental problems with regard to *Hadith* Literature and its development and tried to solve them according to the modern methods of literary and historical criticism on the basis of their own researches. The first Western scholar to do so was Sprenger — as he himself claimed. In the introduction to his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammed*, he summarized the results of his researches in *Hadith* Literature. William Muir also discussed in the introduction to his *Life of Muhammed*, the reliability of *Hadith*. But they were far surpassed in their treatment and criticism of *Hadith* Literature by I. Goldziher who was endowed by nature with strong intellect and keen critical faculty and who had made a thorough study of Jewish and Christian literature. He chose Arabic language and literature in general, and *Hadith* Literature in particular, as some of the special fields for his research. He published numerous learned articles, treatises and books on some of the collections of *Hadith* as well as on the history of the material and formal development of the subject. The most important of his works for our purpose is the second volume of the *Muhammedanische Studien*. In it, after having discussed some preliminary matters, Goldziher discussed the political, the sectarian and the cultural movements in Islamic history which influenced the material



and formal development of *Hadith* Literature. He has dealt with the important *Hadith* collections and pointed out their merits and defects according to his own view. At the end of the book comes a chapter on the influence of the New Testament as well as the other Platonic and Gnostic ideas on our subject. His general conclusion is that *Hadith* Literature does not represent the original ideas and ideas of the Prophet of Islam, but that it reflects those of a much later period. It therefore cannot serve as a source for the knowledge of the Muhammad but serves as an important source of information for the history of the development of the different aspects of Islamic culture of the later periods under the foreign non-Islamic influences.

Even more important than the contributions of Springer, Goetzner and others is the preparation of the *Concordance and Index of Muslim Tradition* which is based upon the six authentic collections, the *Saheeh* of al-Dārimī, the *Musawwaf* of Isma'īl Mālik and the *Musawwaf* of Ahmad b. Hanbal. It was originally planned by Jacobell, Weismann, Harowitz and some other Orientologists, was patronized by the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and aided and helped by more than a dozen of Academics and educational institutions of different countries. The work has been continued by de Haas and assisted by M. Farid Abdul Bāqī and others. The actual work of preparing the Concordance was begun in 1916 and is continued by about 40 scholars of different countries. The first part of it was published in 1916 and the twenty-sixth part in 1961. It consists of all the important expressions occurring in any of the works mentioned above, in alphabetical order, the personal names etc. being reserved for the last parts. This huge work is of great permanent value and is sure to serve as a solid foundation for all the important future works on the various aspects of Arabic literature in general and of *Hadith* Literature in particular.

The Western scholars, however, introduced into the study of *Hadith* the modern critical method of literary and historical research, and tried to show that *Hadith* Literature in general

is of apocryphal origin and doubtful character. They give the following reasons in support of their conclusion —

a. The *Hadith* Literature is largely based on mere oral transmission for more than a century, and such of the *Hadith* collections as we have received do not refer to any records of *Hadith* which may have been made at an earlier period.

b. The number of *Ahadith* in the later collections is much larger than the number of those contained in the earlier collections or in the early works on Islamic law. The according to them, shows that most of the *Ahadith* are of doubtful character.

c. The *Ahadith* reported by the younger Companions are much larger in number than those related by the older Companions, which, they assert, shows that the *Isnad* attached to these *Ahadith* are not quite reliable.

d. The system of *Isnad* was arbitrarily applied to *Hadith* not earlier than the end of the first century of H. era, and it is no proof of genuineness of the tradition to which it is attached.

e. Many of the *Ahadith* contradict one another.

f. There is definite evidence of large-scale forgery of the *Isnad* as well as of the text of *Ahadith*.

g. The Muslim critics confined their criticism of *Hadith* to *Isnad* only, and never criticised its text.

Many of these questions have been discussed in detail in chapters I, VI and VIII of this book. Here only a brief comment upon them may be made —

a. It has already been shown by Goldziher that more than a dozen of *Sahifas* containing *Ahadith* of the Prophet were compiled by the Companions and the Followers. As for the want of reference to them in the later *Hadith* collections, it has been explained by A. Sprenger as being due to the fact that the early traditionists referred to the authors of the books from whom they received them through their own teachers, instead of referring to the books themselves which were liable

to be interpolated and forged. He has demonstrated it with reference to the practice followed by Wāqif and Ibn Sūd<sup>1</sup> and has also collected a good deal of material with regard to the writing down of *Hadith* and the existence of books in Arabic during the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic period, in his article 'On the origin and progress of writing down historical facts among the Moslems'.<sup>2</sup> The publication of the *Maṣābiḥ* of Hammām b. Muṭabbih by Dr. Hamedullah, and a comparison of its contents with that of a part of the *Muṣnad* of Ahmad b. Ḥubal with very slight differences, strongly support the theory of Springer.

b. The increase in the number of *Ḥadīth* in the later collections of the 3rd Century A.H. may be appreciated by those who are conversant with the history of the collection of the *Ḥadīth*. The early compilers did not know as many traditions as were known to the later collectors. For, simultaneously with the extension of the Islamic empire in the various countries the custodians of the *Ḥadīth* spread throughout these domains. It was after the seekers of the *Ḥadīth* had travelled through all these countries situated wide apart from one another, and collected together the traditions known to each of the traditionists living there and narrated them to their own disciples, that larger and larger collections of the *Ḥadīth* could be compiled during the second and the third centuries.

c. It is thought by some of the Western scholars that the natural process was that those who associated with the Prophet of Islam for a long period should have reported more traditions of him than those who associated with him for a short period. But actually this was not so. The younger generation of the Companions have reported a much larger number of traditions than the older Companions. From this they conclude that the *Ḥadīth* of the younger Companions were forged. But the question has already been considered by the traditionists themselves. They say that the older Companions passed away soon after the death of the Prophet, and,

1) JASB, vol XXV p. 62. (2) *Ibid.* pp. 30-329 and 373-381.

therefore, they could not report all the traditions known to them whereas the younger Companions—e.g. Ibn Abbās, Abu Hurayra, 'A'ishah and others—lived for a much longer period and could narrate to their students most of the traditions known to them. J. Hack has pointed out that this fact is in favour of the veracity of the traditionists, for if all the *Hadiths* were forged by them, they would have tried to produce *Hadiths* from the older Companions in larger numbers.<sup>1</sup> 'That the traditionists did not do this,' says Prof. Robson, 'makes us wonder whether there may not be more truth than we have imagined in what they transmit.'<sup>2</sup>

(4) As the *Hadith* its origin, development and importance has been discussed in chapter VI of this book and J. Robson has thoroughly dealt with the views of the Muslim doctors as well as those of all the Western scholars on it,<sup>3</sup> the readers are referred to the observations contained in these sources.

(5) There is no doubt that a large number of the *Hadiths* are contradictory to one another. But to conclude from the contradictions between them, that at least most of them are forged is not quite warranted. It is natural for the leader of a great, progressive, fast-developing movement to change his instructions to his followers, at its various stages according to the requirements of the circumstances. Certainly, Islam was such a movement. One should not, therefore, be surprised if its leader issued at the various stages of its development, or even simultaneously, to his different followers, such instructions or recommendations as contradicted or differed from one another. The contradiction between the *Ahādith* prohibiting their writing down, and those permitting it, for example, has been explained by pointing out that the permissive *Hadiths*, being later in origin, cancelled the prohibitive ones. There is nothing particularly ingenious in this explanation. In certain cases, the contradictions have been

(1) ZDMG, 1939, p. 17.

(2) *The Hadith in Muslim Tradition*, p. 26.

(3) *Ibid.*

expounded by pointing out the great inaccuracies in which the contradictory instructions were given. In various other cases the contradictions have been exposed by pointing out the inconsistency between them which were expressed in various ways in different times. Here and there cases are cited where they were found contradicting the import of the earlier ones, as has been pointed out by the Muslim doctors. But one must be surprised to find that some of the Western scholars have quoted *Hadith* which have been declared by the Muslim authorities on the subject as forged ones in order to pass contradictions between them.

(1) The *Hadith* cited by *Levy* of *Levi* as well as of the text of *Qur'ān* as a full part of *Qur'ān* has been accepted by all the Muslim scholars and has been discussed at length in chapter VI of this book. The development of considerable literature on the *Misdeed* is a sure and sufficient evidence that the *Hadith* covered in them are demanded by the tradition. But one may be surprised to find that some of the Western scholars have used them not only to show the weakness of the claims of the Muslims of any particular period but also to prove that *Hadith* literature in general is unreliable. In this connection they have also misinterpreted some *Hadith* differently from their interpretation by the Muslim traditionists, and at times they have declared such *Hadith* as accepted by the traditionists as genuine to have been forged on account of their own baseless presumptions. Here are some examples of each of them.

(1) *Golezger*<sup>1</sup> and following him *Guillaume*<sup>2</sup> have quoted a *Hadith* from al-Tirmidhi<sup>3</sup> and said: "Ibn 'Umar reports that Muhammad ordered all dogs to be killed save sheep-dogs and hounds. Abu Hurayra added the word *al-ḥar'ir* (or old dogs). Whereupon Ibn 'Umar makes the remark that Abu Hurayra owned cultivated land. A better illustration of the underlying motive of some *Hadith* can hardly be found."

(1) MS. p. 49

(2) TI. 78

(3) IT. I, 281



Goldziher, having quoted the above *Hadith* said that the remark of Ibn 'Umar proves that even the earliest transmitters were not free from selfish motives. But the Muslim traditionists have explained the remark of Ibn 'Umar to mean that Abū Hurayra, having personal interest in the subject matter of the *Hadith*, had better reason to know exactly what its wording was. Hence it shows the greater authority of Abū Hurayra on the *Hadith* than that of Ibn 'Umar itself.

[ 2 ] Goldziher and following him Gauthier assert that the *Hadith* reported by al-Bukhārī 'Make war for pilgrimage only to three places: al-Masjid al-Haram, the Mosque of the Prophet, and the Mosque of Jerusalem' was forged by al-Zuhri in order to help 'Abd al-Malik against his rival 'Abd al-Malik b. Zuhayr. But J. Fack remarks that this assertion is chronologically unsound. Ibn al-Zuhayr was killed in 23 A.H., and Zuhri was born in 24 A.H. or even later. He therefore must have been too young at the time of Ibn al-Zuhayr's death to have become an authority on traditions. This assertion is wrong also because the authority of al-Zuhri on this *Hadith*—the famous Sa'id b. al-Musayrib who died in 94 A.H.—was still living and, therefore, his name could not have been misused by al-Zuhri. Again al-Zuhri is not the only traditionist who reported this tradition from Sa'id.<sup>1</sup>

[ 3 ] Here is another glaring example of untenable assertion by one of the greatest of the Western scholars of *Hadith*, Goldziher. He asserts that after the fabrication of *Hadith* had become a common and established practice among the traditionists, they tried to stop it by forging a *Hadith* that prohibited Forgery. The well-known *Hadith* in which the Prophet is reported to have said that he who falsely attributed anything to him made his abode in Hell and other similar traditions were, according to Goldziher, fabricated in order to stop fabrication.<sup>2</sup> But this *Hadith* has been reported

(1) *HA* (Ah) i: 352.

(2) *MS* i: 15.

(3) *TI* 47-48.

(4) *ZDMG* 1939 pp. 23f.

(5) *MS* ii: 131 f.

by more than 70 Compilers and numerous independent chains of authorities. It is found in different forms in all the important *Hadith* collections and has been accepted by all the traditionists as one of the most reliable traditions. There is absolutely no room for doubt in its authenticity. Fabrications were rare in the time of the Prophets, before Muhammad, of whom he was aware and to whom reference is made in the Qur'ân. False traditions were attributed to Muhammad himself during his lifetime. In these circumstances, it may well be expected that the great Teacher should warn his followers against this dangerous practice. Goldziher knew all this. He is admitted that these *Hadith* were forged ones without giving any reason whatsoever. And Goldziher has followed him in this same fashion.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that in all the *Musnawif* collections of *Hadith*, they are arranged in books and chapters according to their subject-matters and at the end of each *Hadith* is added a short description of its *Force* in technical terms, and no notice is taken of the character of its text. But in their commentaries, the texts of the *Hadith* also are criticised by the traditionists. This criticism follows the principles laid down by the traditionists. These principles and their illustrations from a commentary on *Sahih al-Bukhari* and from some other works on tradition are given in the last chapter of this book. It appears, however, that the function of the collection of the *Hadith* and of their formal criticism, the criticism of the *Isnad*, was reserved for their collectors, whereas the function of their material criticism, the criticism of the text, was left for the Jurists and the commentators of the various collections.

According to the Muslim critics, the *Isnad* is a good evidence, but not an absolute guarantee of the truth of the text of the traditions. And if the text of a tradition is contrary to reason and common experience, or to the explicit text of the Qur'ân, or to the text of the *Mutawatir* traditions, or to the Consensus, it is a proof of its having been forged.

These and other principles of the criticism of the text of a *Hadith* which are described about the end of this book, compare favourably with the criteria laid down by William Muir<sup>2</sup> and other Western scholars for judging the reliability of traditions.

At the end, it must be added that in this book no attempt has been made to deal with the Shi'ah traditions for the present writer does not consider himself qualified for it.

# CHAPTER I

## HADĪTH

### ITS IMPORTANCE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HADĪTH

The word *ḥadīth* primarily means 'new'. It is used as opposed to *qadīm* which means 'old'. From this followed the use of the term for a piece of news, a tale, a story or a report be it historical or legendary, true or false, relating to the present or to the past immediate or remote. In this sense the word has been used by the pre-Islamic poets and in the *Qur'an* and the Tradition of the Prophet. The story-tellers also were called *Huddāth*.

This general connotation of the word *Ḥadīth* has, like that of many other words (e.g. *ṣalat*, *ṣayd*, *ruk'a*, *zaka*, etc.), been changed under the far-reaching influence of Islam. The Muslims since the very life-time of Muhammad called the reports with regard to his sayings and doings the best *ḥadīth*, and by and by its use was confined to the reports of Muhammad's words and deeds only.

Muhammad himself as well as his immediate followers have used it in this sense more than once. When Muhammad said to Abū Hurayra that he knew his anxiety about the *Ḥadīth*,<sup>(1)</sup> he did not mean but his own *Ḥadīth*. 'Utha referred to this kind of *Ḥadīth* only when he said that Ibn 'Abbās related only two or three *Ḥadīth* in a month.<sup>(2)</sup> 'Umar I did not mean but the *Ḥadīth*<sup>(3)</sup> of Muhammad when he asked his friends not to relate too many *Aḥādīth*.<sup>(4)</sup> When Ali said: 'If you

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(1) SB, I, 20. .

(2) SD, p. 46.

(3) TDH, vol. I, p. 6.

(4) TDH, I, 7.

with the *Hadith* with *ḥ* with the *Ḥadīth*—he meant the *Hadith* of Muhammad only.<sup>1</sup>

### HADITH AND SUNNAH

With this significance of the word *Hadith* is very closely connected the connotation of the word *Sunnah* which originally meant precedent and custom and which has been used by the Muslims for the doings and practices of Muhammad only. Some of the Muslim writers, as Goldziher says,<sup>2</sup> have completely identified the significance of these two philologically connected words, others have drawn a line of distinction between their connotations. But the distinction between them is only theoretical, as has been pointed out by him.

### HADITH—A SUBJECT OF KEEN INTEREST

The *Hadith* in this sense, i.e. the report of the sayings and doings of Muhammad, has been a subject of keen interest among the Muslims since the very life-time of the Prophet himself. His remarkable stirring effect could not have failed to draw the serious attention of his people. Having lived forty years of quiet, almost a reclusive life, he started one of the most stirring and the greatest movements which influenced the various aspects of human thought and life for all time—and he achieved his objective with astounding success. At the very beginning of his life as a prophet he struck at the very root of the firm beliefs and the long-established customs of the pagan Arabs. They hated and boycotted him, insulted and injured him, and compelled him to leave his home and dearth for a distant town. But he, by his implicit faith in his cause, his tenacity of purpose and his never failing zeal for his mission within ten years from his exile, destroyed the established prestige of the Quraysh of Mecca, shook the foundations of the pagan customs and the heathen beliefs of the Arabs.

(1) ML, v, 454

(2) *Die Gottesbeweise des Islams* (Oxford, 1908), 2 vols. LXVI, 3 (XXIII, 16)

(3) MSt, vol. II, pp. 11-13.



humbled down their boastful tribal chiefs, persuaded the Christians of Najrân to come to terms with him, overtook the strongholds of the Jews in Arabia, and formed a character which was destined to measure sword simultaneously and successfully with the tremendous, well-equipped and trained armies of Persia and Byzantium, and to influence the thought and life of mankind for ever.

Such a career was bound to attract the attention of the people who witnessed it. Muhammad, with his canvassed activities and revolutionary utterances, could not have passed unobserved and unnoticed by the people among whom he lived and moved. At least, since the time he began to preach his mission, both his deadly foes and his faithful and devoted friends must have been equally interested in him as well as in his sayings and doings.

To his enemies he had been a revolutionary bent upon destroying the whole fabric of their society whose activities they keenly watched in order to stop the progress of his mission. His utterances must have served them as an important topic for reflection, conversation and sometimes even heated discussions. They watched his movements so closely and carefully that many of his secretly conceived plans could not escape their watchful eyes. Their leader, Abû Lahab, kept close to him when he preached his faith to the Arabian tribes and dissuaded them from paying any attention to his powerful preachings.<sup>1</sup> They discovered his plans when his followers were migrating from Arabia to Abyssinia. They followed their footsteps in order to try to stop them from getting out of their clutches.<sup>2</sup> They found out that he talked with the people of Madinah when he conversed with them in secret and threatened the Madinites with open hostility if they continued their friendship with him.<sup>3</sup>

The interest of the followers of Muhammad in him and in his sayings and doings was naturally greater than that of his

(1) TIS, vol. I, part I, p. 145.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 136.

(3) *Ibid.*, vol. I, part I, p. 136.

foes. They had accepted him as their sole guide and prophet. They had completely identified themselves with him in his struggle against the Quraysh and the other tribes. With his future and with the future of the faith revealed to him was bound up their own future. On his success depended their own success. All his actions served them as a precedent (*amath*) every word issuing from his lips was a law to them, and all his actions were virtuous in their eyes which they wanted to follow as faithfully as they could. When he chose a gold ring for himself his friends also put it on, and when he put it off, threw it away, and put on a silver ring instead, they also followed his example.<sup>1</sup> If he offered prayers at midnight, all his friends wanted to do the same, and he himself had to stop them from so doing.<sup>2</sup> If he fasted continuously for more than a day, his followers also desired to do the same, and he had to explain to them his special privileges.<sup>3</sup> Zayd b. Kahlaf spent one whole night at his door in order to see him offer his night prayers.<sup>4</sup> Nawwāsh b. Sa'īd stayed at Madinah for one whole year in order to enquire from Muhammad what was virtue and what was vice.<sup>5</sup> Al-ʿUṣaydī and Khudrī observed keenly how long he kept standing in his afternoon prayers.<sup>6</sup> Thā' Umar counted how many times he asked pardon of God in one sitting.<sup>7</sup>

The *Hadith* in this sense of the reports of the sayings and doings of Muhammad has been a subject of keen pursuit and constant study by the Muslims throughout the Muslim world since the very beginning of the history of Islam up to the present times. During the life-time of Muhammad many of his Companions tried to get by heart whatever he said,

1. SB *k. al-Fitrah*, *b. al-ʿadab*, *d. al-ṣalāh*, vol. IX, p. 100.

2. *Ibid.* *k. al-tahajjud*, *b. asād*, *cc. last*, vol. I, p. 136.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.* *k. al-Fitrah*, *b. al-inʿam*, vol. IX, p. 100.

5. SM *k. al-Bihar*, *b. tafarruʿ al-Bihar*, vol. II, p. 314.

(6) SAD, "Ihtifaz", vol. I, p. 119.

(7) *Ibid.* *Fahḥṣ al-ḥikmah*, vol. I, p. 124.

and observed keenly whatever he did, and they reported these things to me in their . . . Some of them wrote down what he said in *Sahifa* . . . which were later on read by them to their students, and which were preserved in their families and also by the Followers. *Tahqiq*. After the death of Muhammad when his Companions spread in various countries, some of them as well as their Followers undertook long arduous journeys, courted poverty and penury in order to collect them together. They founded independent branches of literature which would help them in understanding the *Hadith* of their prophet and in testing its reliability and genuineness. They deduced various theological sciences from them. Their remarkable activity with regard to the preservation and propagation of *Hadith* is unique in the literary history of the world. The stage of perfection upto which they developed the system of *Isnad* in *Hadith*, the vast literature on the *Usul al-Riyal* which they created as an aid to the formal criticism of Traditions, the literature on the *Usul al-Hadith* which serves as an aid to their material criticism, and the literature on the *Munawwat* which deals with what has been forged and fabricated in the name of Muhammad, remain unparalleled in the literary history of the world even to-day.

The Companions of Muhammad had so much respect and reverence for him that one of them collected his perspiration, and made a will that it should be sprinkled on his dead body before it was put into the grave.<sup>1</sup> Some of them vied and sometimes even quarrelled with one another in order to get the water left by him after performing his ablution, and considered it a privilege to drink it or to apply it to their bodies.<sup>2</sup> Some of them preserved carefully what was touched by him and used it as a cure for diseases.<sup>3</sup> Some of them presented to him their children for his blessings. Some of them considered it a privilege if their sons were accepted by him as his attendants.<sup>4</sup>

(1) SB, iv, 62.

(2) *Ibid.*, *al-Wada'ih* *al-Tahqiqiyya*, vol. i, pp. 10-13.

(3) TIS, vol. viii, p. 234.

(4) TIS, vol. viii, p. 73.

## THE WRITING OF AHADĪTH

Many of these devoted Companions of Muhammad, if not all of them, naturally hankered after the knowledge of what he said or did. Abū Hurayra kept his constant company for three years at the sacrifice of all worldly pursuits in order to see and hear what he did and said,<sup>1</sup> and regularly devoted a considerable time to getting by heart what he had heard from him.<sup>2</sup> Abū Alāsh b. Amr b. al-ʿĀs wrote down all that he heard from Muhammad.<sup>3</sup> Abū Shalab, Zayd and Zayad also did the same.<sup>4</sup> ʿĀzib, when asked by Abū Bakr to deliver his message to al-Bura, did not leave his company until he had related to him what he and Muhammad had done when they came out of Mecca and were followed by the Quraysh.<sup>5</sup> ʿUmar b. al-Khattab who was living at a distance from Madinah and was unable to attend to Muhammad every day, made an agreement with one of the Ansār that they would attend him every alternate day and report to each other whatever they saw or heard from him.<sup>6</sup> Such others of his followers as failed to notice any of his sayings or doings on account of being away from him learnt the same from those who had heard them, taking great care about the veracity of their reporters. As a matter of fact, it is said to have been a common practice among the friends of Muhammad that whenever any two of them met, one of them enquired from the other whether there was any *Hadīth* (the news of the sayings and the doings of the Prophet), and the other in his reply reported some sayings and doings of the Prophet.<sup>7</sup> This practice seems to have been in vogue at least among some Muslim scholars even so late as the end of the 8th century.

(1) TIS, vol. iv, part 2, p. 56.

(2) SD, p. 45.

(3) TIS, vol. ii, part 2, p. 125.

(4) LL, p. 67.

(5) TIS, vol. iv, part 2, p. 80.

(6) *Ṣūʿ al-Ḥimā b. al-Tamīmī*, vol. i, p. 19.

(7) ZDMG, vol. x, p. 2.

A.H. — when Isma'il Aquili of Baghdad on meeting Ibrahim of Aleppo asked him, after the customary salutations whether he knew any *Hadith*. The latter in his answer related some *Hadith* from the *Sahih al-Bukhari* with their *I nad*.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad himself attached a great deal of importance to the knowledge of his own *Hadith*. He asked his friends and followers to make them as widely known as possible, taking care that they should not attribute to him anything falsely. He asked his followers to acquire knowledge and teach it to others,<sup>2</sup> and while explaining knowledge he included in it the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. The course of study prescribed by him to the *Ashab al-Suffa* included the Qur'an, the *Sunnah* and the art of writing.<sup>3</sup> In the appointment of the state officials also he gave preference to those who combined the knowledge of the *Sunnah* with that of the Qur'an. Such was the case with the appointment of the *Imam*<sup>4</sup> and the *Qadis*, and is likely to have been the case with other appointments also. He asked Mu'adh when the latter was going out as governor of Yemen on what basis he would govern. "On the basis of the Qur'an", Mu'adh replied. "Suppose" said the Prophet, "that you do not find it in the Qur'an." Then on the basis of the *Sunnah*,<sup>5</sup> answered Mu'adh.<sup>6</sup>

After the death of Muhammad the importance of *Hadith* grew greater and greater. Von Kremer rightly says:

"The life of the Prophet, his discourses and utterances, his actions, his silent approval and even his passive conduct, constituted next to the Qur'an the second most important source of law for the young Muslim empire."<sup>7</sup> Von Kremer has correctly pointed out the importance of the *Hadith* as a

(1) ZDMG, vol. x, P. 2.

(2) *Mis. Alm.*, p. 32.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

(4) SHM, p. 9.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) FIS, vol. i, part 2, p. 107.

(7) Orient under the Caliphs, p. 244.



source of Muhammadan law. But actually the part played by it in the development of Arabic literature is much greater than this. It is the *Hadith* and the *Qur'ān* that have been the main cause of the origin of many branches of Arabic literature e.g. History, Geography, the collection of the ancient Arabian poetry, Lexicography, etc. It will not be in exaggeration to say that the *Hadith* and the *Qur'ān* had been the basis of all the scientific activities of the Arabs.

The *Hadith* originated in the early life of the Prophet of Islam, developed largely throughout his life, and spread simultaneously with the spread of Islam throughout the vast Muslim domains. The Muslim armies which conquered Syria, Palestine, Persia, and Egypt introduced a large number of the Companions of Muhammad, who carried his *Hadith* wherever they went. Even the distant lands of North Africa and Spain received the reports of Muhammad's sayings and doings before the end of the first century. Similarly, the message of the *Qur'ān* and the *Qur'ān* had been received by India before its conquest by Muslims before the end of the first century.<sup>2</sup>

### THE COLLECTION OF AHADITH

*Hadith* which flourished throughout the vast Muslim domains had been preserved for about a century partly in writing, in the form of lists and letters dictated by Muhammad himself, and in the form of various *Ṣaḥīḥs* ascribed to many of his Companions, and partly in the memory of those who had associated with him and watched carefully his words and deeds. After the death of Muhammad, Umar I intended to collect the *Hadith*. He gave the matter his careful consideration for some months, invoking the help of God in his decision, and seeking the advice of his friends. But he had

1. A Muslim army of Companions had entered Spain. See VI, vol. 1, p. 130.

2. See ch. I. *History of the Muslim Conquest of India*. *Hadith Literature*. By Muhammad al-Fārūq. University of Dar-es-Salaam.

to give up the great project for the fear of the Qur'an being neglected by the Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

Umar II (63-101 A.H.), the family caliph of the dynasty of the worldly Umayyads, not only and partly carried out the tremendous task which was never thought of by his great predecessor whom he tried to follow in many respects. This family caliph had a great zeal for his religion which he tried to purify from the evils that had crept into it by the time he came to power.<sup>2</sup> The teaching and the collection of *Hadith* naturally formed an important part of his plan. He appointed paid teachers to teach the Qur'an to the ignorant Bedouins,<sup>3</sup> supported and opened the teachers and students of *Fiqh*,<sup>4</sup> sent instructions to the governor of the Hijaz that weekly lectures should be delivered on *Hadith*,<sup>5</sup> and sent out men well-versed in the subject to Egypt and North Africa as instructors to the Muslims living in those countries.<sup>6</sup>

Fearing the loss of *Hadith*, he took steps towards their collection. To a great Traditionist, Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. Hazm (d. 103/19) who lived in Madinah, he wrote to ask him to write down all the *Hadith* of the Prophet and of 'Umar—particularly those he could learn from Amra, the daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān, who was at that time the best custodian of such *Hadith* as were related by A'ishah.<sup>7</sup> 'Umar II is also reported to have asked Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm<sup>8</sup> and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri<sup>9</sup> to collect *Hadith* in the form of books in order to have them circulated throughout his domi-

ITS, vol. 10, part I, p. 206. However, Umar spread in various other ways the knowledge of *Hadith* among Muslims living in various parts of the Caliphate.

(2) MSt, vol. 2, p. 34.

(3) SUA.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) NT, vol. i, p. 130.

(7) ITS, vol. 10, part 2, p. 134. SB: c. *Imam b. al-Qasbi*, vol. I, MC, p. xxxii.

(8) JBI, part 1, p. 76.

(9) FM, p. 239.

men. According to Abu Nu'aym's *History of Egypt* cited by Ibn Hajar, Umar even wrote a circular letter asking the Egyptians—living in the various parts of his domain—to collect in the form of books as many *ḥadīth* as were available.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that these works have not been mentioned by any of the later writers on the subject, and that there appear to be some contradictions in later references to the persons concerned, does not an eminent Orientalist to hold that what has been attributed to Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz's connection with the collection of *ḥadīth* is only an expression of what the Muslims would expect from the pious caliph.<sup>2</sup> But another eminent Orientalist, Dr. Sprenger, had already shown<sup>3</sup> that the early Muslim writers used to refer to the authors instead of referring to the books. As regards the contradictions, they are only apparent and can be easily explained. Therefore it is not merely an expression of what later Muslims expect of from the pious caliph, but as a matter of fact all the attendant circumstances point to the probability of what is attributed to him.

The great work initiated by Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz was helped by the spirit of the age, and the result was extensive. Abū Qasim al-Hafar (d. 107 A.H.) is stated to have made a will of 150 books.<sup>4</sup> Malik (d. 116/734), who had travelled through Egypt and Syria and had lived for some time in Madinah in order to acquire knowledge at all these places,<sup>5</sup> wrote a book on the *Sunnah* which has been mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*.<sup>6</sup> al-Zuhri (d. 124/442) is stated by Ibn Sa'd to have

(1) FB, vol. i, p. 174.

(2) 'Asqalānī, *op. cit.*

MS. no. — pp. 202-3. Triv. pp. 1849.

(3) A. Sprenger, 'On the origin and progress of writing down *ḥadīth* among the Muslims', JASB vol. xxv, pp. 1031, 1036.

(4) IdH vol. i, p. 82.

(5) IdH vol. i, p. 95.

(6) FN, pp. 225-27.

collected so many *Hadith* that after his death his manuscripts needed beasts of burden for their removal.<sup>1</sup>

The early students and workers on the *Hadith* were followed by various *Muhaddithūn* who carried on the work begun by their predecessors almost simultaneously in various provinces of the vast Muslim empire. Of these collectors of *Hadith*, 'Abū al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jurayj, d. 130 A.H. worked at Mecca, Sa'd b. 'Arūba, d. 137 A.H. at Mesopotamia, al-Auzā'i, d. 159 A.H. in Syria, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, d. 159 A.H. at Madinah, Zāida b. Qudāma, d. 160 A.H., and Sufyān al-Thaurī, d. 160 A.H. at Kufa and Hammād b. Salām, d. 165 A.H. at Basra.<sup>2</sup>

As almost all these works are entirely lost, no opinion can be expressed on their plan, method or merit. But Ibn al-Nadīm who has mentioned these works has also given a short criticism in each case. He calls the works of Ibn Jurayj, Ibn 'Arūba, Auzā'i, Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān and Zāida b. Qudāma works on the *Sunnah*, and says that they are arranged like books of *Fiqh* in chapters devoted to its problems. They were probably works of the same type as the *Muwatta* of Imām Malik who might have followed in the general plan of it the system adopted by some of these earlier writers. Two of the books of Sufyān al-Thaurī, however, which were related by various scholars, were works of a different type. About one of them Ibn al-Nadīm says that it is similar to *Hadith* works.<sup>3</sup> But this also has been lost.

### THE MUWATTA

The earliest work connected with our subject which has been received by us is the *Muwatta* of Imām Malik which has been fully described and criticised by Goldziher.<sup>4</sup> He is of the opinion that the *Muwatta* is not a work on *Hadith* in the

(1) TIS, vol. II, part 2, p. 136.

(2) FN, *loc. cit.*

(3) FN, p. 225.

(4) MSt, vol. II, pp. 213-26.

same sense in which the *Sunna al-Bashari* and other later words are.<sup>1</sup> It is, says he, "a *corpus actus* and not a *corpus tractatum*. Its object was not to settle the *fiqh* of the area in the Muslim world and to collect them together, but to demonstrate the religious laws, rituals and practices which were in keeping with the *Sunna* prevalent in Me Medina, and which were in agreement with the *Ima* accepted by the Muslims of Madinat, and to produce on the basis of the *Ima* and the *Sunna* a theoretical standard for doubtful cases".

In order to prove his theory, Goldziher has quoted the fact that Imām Malik has included in his work a large number of *Fatwa* and customs in vogue in Madinah, without trying to prove them by *Hadith*,<sup>2</sup> that even in quoting the *Hadith* he has not given the *Ima* in all cases, and that he has not made any mention of such *Hadith* as would patently historical character.

It is certainly only to show that the *Muwatta* was not intended to serve as a collection of *Hadith*. But it may be said with equal justice that it is not a book of *Fiqh* in the same sense in which later books on *Fiqh* are said to be works on the subject. It contains a very large number of *Hadith al-ahkam* (legal tradition). According to Zarqānī, as Goldziher has pointed out, there are in it 1720 *Hadith* of which 600 contain *Ima*, 222 are *marṣal*, 613 are *maṣṣuṭ*, and 285 stop either at a *Shahīḥ* or at a *Fatwa*, i.e. are either *maṣṣuṭ* or *maṣṭūʿ*.<sup>3</sup> According to al-Ghāṣiqī, the total number of *Hadith* in the twelve versions of the *Muwatta* is 606, out of which 97 differ in the different versions of the book, and the rest are common in all the various recensions.<sup>4</sup> The great difference between al-Zarqānī's and al-Ghāṣiqī's estimates seems to be due to the latter's not taking into account the versions of the *Muwatta* by al-Shaybānī and others.<sup>5</sup> Originally, however, the number of *Hadith* in the *Muwatta* is reported to have been between

1. MSi, vol. ii, p. 21.

2. BM, p. 25.

3) viz. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī, Abū ʿUthmān and Suwayd b. Saʿīd.



4,000 and 10,000, which were reduced by the author himself to about 1,000.<sup>1</sup>

The *Muwatta* may be treated as a good collection of *Hadith* in the sense of the legal traditions. Some Muslim authorities like 'Izz al-Din Ibn al-Astar, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and 'Abd al-Haq of Delhi include it next to the *Sunan* of Ibn Majah as the six canonical collections. Of course the majority of them do not count it as one of the six books because almost all the important traditions contained in it are included in the *Sahih* of Bukhari and Muslim.

On the analysis of the *Muwatta* however, we may reasonably assume that the other *Sunan* work compiled before or simultaneously with it also contained a fair proportion of the *Hadith al-Ikām*, and might therefore be treated like the *Muwattā* as *Hadith* works.

#### THE LEGAL AND HISTORICAL TRADITIONS

Since the earliest times the Muslims have made a distinction between the legal traditions (*Hadith al-furū*) and the purely historical traditions (the *Maghazī*). In the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd some Companions are described as being well-versed in the *Fiqh* Law, and others are stated to be authorities on the *Maghazī*, the historical traditions. In the treatment of the legal traditions they had been careful and critical, whereas in relating the historical traditions they were rather free. Suhayb, a Companion, used to say: 'Come along, I will tell you the tales of our battles (*Maghazī*), but I will not relate to you that the Prophet has said such and such things.'<sup>2</sup> Sa'ib b. Yazid heard Talha relate the tales of the battle of Uhud, whereas he did not hear other Companions relate any *Hadith* of the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> From these and other similar reports it appears that the *Maghazī* served the early Muslims as topics for their general conversations. But with

(1) SMt. i, 8.

(2) TIS, vol. iii, part 1, p. 164.

(3) SB k. al-Jihād b. man ha'iduwa bi-hi wa-jā'aka vol. ii, p. 17.

the legal traditions they had been careful and scrupulous, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The word *Fiqh* itself had been used sometimes in the sense of *Hadith*. Ibn Abi al-Barr, after relating a *Hadith*, points out that here the word *Fiqh* is used in the sense of *Hadith*.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the Islamic Law in its earliest period consisted of little else than the legal traditions *Hadith al-Ahkam*. It is therefore that all such Companions as are reported to have related the largest number of *Ahadith* e.g. 'Ustath, Ibn Mas'ud, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās are described as *Faqih*.

The number of the legal traditions appears to be rather small. Ma'n ibn al-Din al-Jabari has mentioned only 1029 of them in his *al-Ahkam al-Sughra* which is devoted to the legal traditions only.<sup>2</sup> Hāfiz 'Abd al-Ghani in his *Umdat al-Muqqim* has mentioned only 100 of them.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hajar in his *Burhān al-Muram* has quoted about 1358 of them.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Taymiyah Ma'n al-Din in his *Muntaza* has of course quoted a much larger number. But he has often treated the sayings and the doings of the Companions also as *Hadith*, and sometimes he treats the various versions of the same *Hadith* as independent ones.<sup>5</sup>

#### CLASSIFICATION OF BOOKS OF HADÎTH

Books of *Hadith* have been classified into the following groups :—

1. *Ṣahīfah*,
2. *Ajzā'*,
3. *Rasā'il* or *Kutub*
4. *Musannaf*
5. *Musnad*
6. *Mu'jam*
7. *Jam'*

<sup>1</sup> JBI, part ii, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See KZ, vol. i, pp. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> KZ, vol. iv, 254 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vi, 167. This number is based on my own calculation.

8. *Sunan*.
9. *Mustadrak*.
10. *Mustakhras*.
11. *Arba'iniyât*.

1. The *Sahifa* are such collections of the sayings of the Prophet as were written down by some of his Companions during his lifetime or by their followers in the next generation. Several of these *Sahifa* have been mentioned by Goldziher according to whom some of them are also described as *Ra'âid* and as *Kutub*.<sup>1</sup> One of them which was collected by Abu Hurayra and taught and handed down by him to his student, Hammâm b. Munabbih, has been edited by Dr. Hamidullah.<sup>2</sup> But the most important of them is the *Sahifa* which was collected by Abd Allah b. Amr b. al- $\text{Ās}$  who gave it the title of *al-Ṣaḍiqah*.<sup>3</sup>

2. The *Ḥifā* are such collections of the Traditions as have been handed down on the authority of one single individual be he a Companion or of any generation after him. The term *ḥa* is also applied to such collections of *Ḥadīth* as have been compiled on a particular subject-matter—e.g. "Intention", the Vision of God, etc.<sup>4</sup>

3. The *Rasa'id* are such collections of *Ḥadīth* as deal with one particular topic out of eight topics into which the contents of the *ḥam* books of *Ḥadīth* may be generally classified.

These topics are :—

- i. Beliefs or Dogma.
- ii. Laws or *Abkām* which are also known as *Sunan* and include all the subjects of *Fiqh* from *Taharat* or Purity to *Ḥudud* or Exhortations.
- iii. *Ruqay* i.e. Piety, Asceticism, Mysticism.

(1) MSt, vol. ii, pp. 231-32.

(2) SHM.

(3) MSt, vol. ii, pp. 10-11.

(4) RFUH, p. 22.

iv. *Ṭarīqāt* i.e. drinking, travelling, etc.

v. *Ṭawāliḥ* i.e. annals or the Qat'āṭ.

vi. *Ṭawāliḥ wa-Sayr* i.e. historical and biographical matters which include (a) Cosmology, Ancient History, and (b) the life of the Prophet, of his Companions and Successors.

vii. *Ṭatāwīḥ*, i.e. Gossip.

viii. *Ṭaḥṣīl* i.e. *Muḥaṣṣat* and demonstration (*Muthālib*) of persons, places, etc.

The *Riḥla* i.e. Catalogue of Books (*Ḥatīb*). To this class belong many of the works of Ibn Ḥayr and Suyūṭī, and others.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Majmaʿ* i.e. a miscellaneous collection of *ḥadīth* in which the traditions relating to most or all the various topics mentioned above are put together and arranged in various books or chapters each dealing with a particular topic. To this class belong the *Majmaʿ* of Luṭf al-Malik, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, etc.

4. The term *Muṣannaf* supported was originally used for such traditions as were supported by a complete uninterrupted chain of authorities (*ṭarīq*) going back to a Companion who related it from the Prophet himself.<sup>2</sup> But later on the term came to be used in the general sense of a reliable and authoritative tradition. In this sense the term is also used for all reliable works in the *Ḥadīth* literature, and works like the *Sunna* of al-Darīmī and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī are called *Muṣannaf*. But technically it is used only for those collections of *Ḥadīth* in which they are arranged according to the names of the final authorities by whom they are related, irrespective of their subject-matter. Such are the *Muṣannafs* of Abū Dāʿūd Ṭayālis (d. 204/819), Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 243/857), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shaibā (d. 255/869), 'Uthmān

<sup>1</sup> RSH II, pp. 19-20, 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> For the difference of opinion about the definition of the *muṣannaf* *Ḥadīth* see FN, p. 109.

by Abū Shaybā (I, 257-831; Abū Khaythama, id. 234-811 and others).<sup>1</sup> He who collected *ḥadīth* in the form of a *Muṣnad* is called a *Muṣnid* or a *Muṣnidi*.<sup>2</sup> The *Muṣnad* works themselves, however, differ in details in the arrangement of the authorities who originally related them. In some of them they are arranged in the alphabetical order of their names. In some of them they are arranged according to their relative merit in the acceptance of Islam and in taking part in the early important events of the Prophet's mission. In some of them they are arranged according to the affinity of their tribe to the Prophet.<sup>3</sup>

There are, however, certain *Muṣnad* works which are divided into chapters devoted to various subjects, and in each chapter the *ḥadīth* are arranged according to the original authorities, Companions, by whom they are related. This plan is followed by Abū Yū'isā<sup>4</sup> (d. 276-899) and Abū 'Alī al-Raḥmān in their *Muṣnad* works.<sup>5</sup> These works combine the characteristics of the *Muṣnad* and of the *Muṣannaf* works.

Some of the *Muṣnad*-compilers, however, tried to collect together all the available traditions reported by the various Companions.<sup>6</sup> The *Muṣnad* of Ibn al-Najār is said to have contained the traditions related by all the Companions. The *Muṣnad* of Ahmad b. Ḥabīb contains more than 30,000 traditions reported by about 700 Companions.<sup>7</sup> The *Muṣnad* of Abū 'Alī al-Raḥmān is reported by Ḥājl Khalīfah on the authority of Ibn Ḥazm to have contained traditions related by 1300 Companions.<sup>8</sup> There are, however, many *Muṣnad* works which are devoted to traditions related either by a special group of Companions or by one single Companion only.

(1) A large number of *Muṣnad* works are mentioned by Ḥājl Khaythab, KZ, vol. v, pp. 542-43.

(2) MSt, vol. II, p. 227.

(3) RTH, p. 21.

(4) BM, p. 57.

(5) KZ, vol. v, p. 541.

(6) MSt, vol. II, p. 227.

(7) FK, vol. I, p. 203.

(8) KZ, vol. v, p. 541.



6 The term *Mu'jam* is generally applied to such works on various subjects as are arranged in alphabetical order. The geographical and the biographical dictionaries of Yaqūt are called *Mu'jam al-Buldān* and *Mu'jam al-Ladabā*, because they are arranged alphabetically. Such *Musnad* collections of *Ahādith* as are arranged under the names of the Companions in their alphabetical order are also known as *Mu'jam al-Ṣaḥāba*. But according to the authorities on the science of Tradition, the term is used technically for such collections of *Ahādith* only as are arranged not according to the Companions who reported them, but according to the Traditionists from whom the compiler himself received them. The names of such Traditionists (*Shuyūkh*) are arranged alphabetically,<sup>1</sup> and all the traditions received from each *Shaykh* are then collected together irrespective of their contents and subject-matter. To this class belong two of the collections of al-Ṭabarānī (260-870-360/970), and the collections of Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il (d. 371/981) and Ibn al-Qānī (d. 350/960).<sup>2</sup> The largest collection by al-Ṭabarānī is in reality a *Musnad* work, not a *Mu'jam* work; for it is a *Mu'jam al-Ṣaḥāba*, not a *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh*.

7. *Jāmi'* are those collections of *Ahādith* which contain traditions relating to all the various subject-matters mentioned under the *Rasa'il*. Thus, the *Ṣaḥīh* of al-Bukhārī as well as the book of Irmidhī is called *Jāmi'*. But the *Ṣaḥīh* of Muslim is not described as *Jāmi'*, because, unlike Bukhārī, it does not contain traditions relating to all the chapters of the *Qur'ān*.

8. *Sunan* are such collections of the traditions as contain *Ahādith al-aḥkām* (legal traditions) only, and leave out those traditions which relate to historical and other matters. Thus the collections of traditions made by Abū Dā'ūd, Nasā'ī and many other traditionists are known as *Sunan* works.

(1) Should they be arranged in the chronological order, the work would be called *Mashūkhāt*. See OPC, vol. V, part 2, p. 41 f.

(2) BM, pp. 56, 93.

9. *Mustadraks* are such collections of *Aḥādith* in which the compiler, having accepted the conditions laid down by any previous compiler, collects together such other traditions as fulfil those conditions and were missed by the previous compiler. To this class belongs the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim who collected together such *Aḥādith* as fulfilled the conditions laid down by al-Bukhārī and Muslim and were not included by them in their *Ṣaḥīḥs*.

10. *Mustakhraj* are those collections of *Aḥādith* in which a later compiler of them collects together fresh *Isnāds* for such traditions as were collected by a previous compiler on the basis of different chains of *Isnad*. To this class belongs the *Mustakhraj* of Abū Nu'aym Iṣfahānī on the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and of Muslim. In this book Abū Nu'aym has given fresh chains of *Isnad* for some of the traditions which were already included by Bukhārī and Muslim in their *Ṣaḥīḥs* with different *Isnāds*.

11. The *Arba'īn*yat, as the name shows, are the collections of forty *Aḥādith* relating to one or more subjects which may have appeared to be of special interest to the compiler. An example of this class is the *Arba'īn* of al-Nawāwī.

Of all these eleven classes of the collections of *Aḥādith*, the *Ṣaḥīḥs*, as their description shows, were the earliest in origin. The *Muṣṭajabs*, the *Mustadraks*, the *Mustakhraj* and the *Arba'īn*yat must have been the latest. The *Aḥzā'* and the *Rasā'il* in their technical sense described above also must have been later in origin and development than the *Muṣannaf* and the *Musnad* works. The *Sunan* and the *Jamī'* being only subdivisions of the *Muṣannaf* works, the problem of the priority of origin of the remaining classes of the *Hadith* works rests between the *Muṣannafs* and the *Musnads* which is difficult to decide. Goldziher is of the opinion that the *Musnads* are earlier in origin than the *Muṣannafs* which originated under the influence of the legal system of the *Ashab al-Ḥadith*.<sup>1</sup> But as the collection of *Aḥādith* was greatly due to their legal

(1) *MSt.* vol. ii, pp. 232ff.

importance, it is not unlikely that some of the very early collections of them were arranged according to their subject-matter connected with the Islamic legal, ritual or religious problems, as is also suggested by the title *Kutub al-Sunan* given to them.

The *Hadith* thus collected by the continuous, hard and honest work of many generations of the Muslims of various countries belonging to different schools of thought, has been a subject of study of the Muslim scholars and a source of inspiration to the Muslim world upto the present time. The *Hadith* together with the *Qur'ān* served the Muslims as the main basis of their social structure. On this twofold basis originated and developed the various Islamic sciences. To these two turns an average Muslim for inspiration and guidance. On them can be properly based the reconstruction of the Islamic thought according to the requirements of modern times. The efforts of many modern reformers have so far failed because they ignored the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadith*, just as some Medieval Islamic sects could not flourish because they had ignored their importance.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HADITH AND THE COMPANIONS (صَحَابَةُ)

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM *SAHĀBĪ*

The term *al-Sahābi* or *a-Sahābī* means a *Sahābī* and *al-Sahāb* a Companion. It is used by the Muslims as a title of great honour for such Muslims as have enjoyed the privilege of having lived in the company of the Prophet. On the qualifications necessary for being a *Sahābī* the Muslims hold as differ. Some of them are of the opinion that every Muslim who had seen Muhammad was a *Sahābī*. Some hold that long association with Muhammad is necessary for being a *Sahābī*. The majority of them, however, hold that every grown-up Muslim who associated with Muhammad for some time may be called a *Sahābī*. The near relatives of Muhammad, his bosom friends, his attendants as well as such external Muslims as saw him even once are generally included among the *Ṣaḥāba*.

It is the Companions who reported the *ḥadīth* from Muhammad. They are the authorities to whom the Followers (*al-Tābiʿīn*), then students and associates, are handed down the Islamic *ḥadīth*. Upon their reliability, authenticity and trustworthiness rests to a large extent the trustworthiness of the great mass of *ḥadīth* collected by the Muslim scholars of the later generations.

#### THE NUMBER OF THE COMPANIONS

The exact number of the Companions cannot be determined. Only once during the early history of Islam a census was taken, when they were found to be 1,525.<sup>2</sup> This census must have been taken about the time of the Treaty of Hudaibiya when the danger to the Muslims was great and

(1) TA, p. 10; IM, pp. 16-17; AHS, pp. 1-19.

(2) ATb, vol. 1, p. 100; SB, *al-Ṣaḥāba*, *ḥadīth al-Ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 1.

an estimate of their actual strength was necessary. Soon then the number of the Muslims went up by leaps and bounds, and before the death of Muhammad almost the whole of the Arabian peninsula had accepted Islam.

A large number of these Muslims of the time of Muhammad had seen him and listened to his sayings and sayings. Forty thousand of them were with him when he performed the Farewell Pilgrimage at Mecca.<sup>1</sup> The number of all those who ever saw or heard him has been estimated by Abu Zaid al-Rāzi to be above 100,000.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE COMPANIONS WHO RELATED TRADITIONS

All the Companions did not relate the *Hadith* of their master. The *Musnad* of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān which is said to be the largest collection of *Hadith* is stated to contain traditions related by 1311 Companions only.<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Jawzi, who has given a list of all the Companions who related traditions, has mentioned the names of about 1000 of them together with the number of the traditions related by each.<sup>4</sup> Five hundred of them are said to have related 1 tradition each. One hundred and thirty-two are stated to have handed down 2 traditions each. Eighty are described to have related 3 traditions each. Fifty-two are mentioned to be responsible for 4 traditions each, thirty-two for 5 each, twenty-six for 6 each, twenty-seven for 7 each, eighteen for 8 each, and eleven for 9 traditions each. Sixty of the Companions are credited with having related 10-20 traditions each. Of the rest each is said to have related 20 or more traditions. Here is the table showing the names of these Companions and the number of the traditions related by them :—

No.	Name of the Companion	Number of <i>Hadith</i>
1	Abu Shurayb al-Ka'bi	20
2	'Abd Allāh b. Jarrah	20

1. MS. p. 12.

2. *MS.* vol. 1, p. 5.

3. *KZ.* vol. 8, p. 334.

4. *HA.* pp. 284-5.



No	Name of the Companion	Number of the <i>tit</i>
1	Muswir b. Makhrama <sup>1</sup>	26
2	'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri	26
3	'Amr b. Umayya (another)	6
6	Safawân b. 'Assâl	20
7	Sa'd b. 'U'bâda	24
8	al-Rabî'	24
9	al-Sâ'ib	22
10	Qurra	22
11	'Umayr b. Rabî'a	12
12	Umm Qays	24
13	Laqîṭ b. 'Āmir	24
14	al-Sharîd <sup>2</sup>	24
15	Rifâ'a b. Râfi'	24
16	'Abd Allâh b. Unays	24
17	Aus b. Aus	24
18	al-Faql b. 'Abbâs	24
19	Abû Wâqid al-Laythi	24
20	Abû Ṭalḥa al-Anṣârî	25
21	'Abd Allâh b. Salâm	25
22	Sahl b. Abi Hachm <sup>3</sup> (Haxthama <sup>4</sup> )	25
23	Abû al-Mulayb al-Hudhali <sup>5</sup>	25
24	'Abd Allâh b. Jalal	25
25	Yâ'la b. Murra	26
26	Abû Humayd al-Sûdî	26
27	Abû Mâlik al-Ash'ari <sup>6</sup>	27
28	'Abd Allâh b. Buhayna <sup>7</sup>	27
29	Abû Usayd al-Sâ'idi <sup>8</sup>	28
30	'Uṭba b. 'Abd	28
31	Yâ'la b. Umayy	28
42	'Uthmân b. Abi al-Ḥ	29

1 IMV vol. 1 No. 1109

2 IMV vol. 1 No. 1110

3 IMV No. 1111

4 IMV vol. 1 No. 1121

5 IMV vol. 1

6 IMV vol. 1 No. 635

7 IMV vol. 1 No. 1118

8 IMV vol. 1

No.	Name of the Companion	Number of <i>Ahadith</i>
33	Umm al-Fa'la bint al-Harith	30
34	Shayb	30
35	Umm al-Husayn al-Humayri	30
36	Mu'adh b. Anas	30
37	'Irbād b. Sāriya <sup>1</sup>	31
38	Khubāb b. al-A'att <sup>2</sup>	32
39	'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr	33
40	Fātima bint Qays	34
41	Ma'qil b. Yawzār <sup>3</sup>	34
42	al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Muttalib	35
43	'Amr b. 'Abasa <sup>4</sup>	38
44	Khuzayma b. Thābit <sup>5</sup>	38
45	Talba b. 'Abd Allāh	38
46	al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām <sup>6</sup>	38
47	'Amr b. al-'Ās	39
48	Umm 'Atīya	40
49	Abū Tha'laba al-Khushanī <sup>7</sup>	40
50	Hakim b. Hizām <sup>8</sup>	40
51	Sahl b. Hunayf <sup>9</sup>	40
52	Mu'āwiya b. Hayda! <sup>10</sup>	42
53	al-Muqlād	42
54	'Abd Allāh b. Mughīl <sup>11</sup>	53
55	Jundab b. 'Abd Allāh	43
56	Bilāl (the <i>Mu'awadhhdhin</i> )	44
57	Abu Juhayfa	45
58	Umm Hānī	46

(1) TT, vol. vii, No. 340

(2) *Ibid.* vol. iii, No. 104

(3) *Idem*, vol. vi, No. 100

(4) *Ibid.* vol. vi, No. 100

(5) *Ibid.* vol. vi, No. 100

(6) *Ibid.* vol. vi, No. 100

(7) *Idem*, vol. vi, No. 100

(8) *Ibid.* vol. vi, No. 100

(9) *Ibid.* vol. vi, No. 100

(10) *Idem*, vol. vi, No. 100

(11) TT, vol. vi, No. 100

No	Name of the Companion	Number of <i>ḥādīth</i>
59	Abū Barza <sup>1</sup>	46
60	Ka'b b. 'Ujra <sup>2</sup>	47
61	al-Miqdām	47
62	'Abd Allāh b. Zayd	48
63	Sa'id b. Zayd b. 'Amr	48
64	'Abd Allāh b. Bishr	50
65	Shaddād b. Aus	50
66	Asmā' bint Abī Bakr	58
67	Asmā' bint 'Umayy	60
68	Hakīma, wife of Muhammad	60
69	Jubayr b. Muṭ'im	60
70	Salmān al-Fārisī	60
71	'Amr b. 'Auf	62
72	'Ammār b. Yāsir	62
73	'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf	65
74	Umm Habiba, wife of Muhammad	65
75	'Adī b. Hātim	66
76	Abū Rāfi'	68
77	Zayd b. Arqam	70
78	Wā'il b. Hujr <sup>3</sup>	71
79	Maymūna	76
80	Salma b. al-Akwa'	77
81	Rāfi' b. Khudayj <sup>4</sup>	78
82	Zayd b. Khālid	81
83	Zayd b. Thābit	92
84	'Abd Allāh b. Abī Aufa	95
85	Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh <sup>5</sup>	100
86	Abū Mas'ūd al-Ansārī	102
87	Nu'man b. Bashir	144
88	Samura b. Jundab <sup>6</sup>	123

(1) IMA, vol. I, No. 1081.

(2) IT, vol. VI, No. 74.

(3) IMA, vol. II, No. 2944.

(4) IT, vol. VII, No. 768.

(5) IT, vol. II, No. 100.

(6) IMA, vol. II, No. 2404.

No.	Name of the Companion	Number of <i>Hadiths</i>
89	Tha'labān	136
90	U'sāma b. Zayd	138
91	Abū Bakra Nufay' b. al-Ḥārith	140
92	Mughīra b. Shu'ba	141
93	Abū Bakr (the first Caliph)	117
94	Jābir b. Samura	136
95	Uthmān (the third Caliph)	116
96	Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī	133
97	Mu'adh b. Jabal	152
98	Mu'awwaz (the first Umayyad Caliph)	164
99	Ubayy b. Ka'b	164
100	Burayda b. al-Ḥasib. <sup>1</sup>	167
101	Abū Qatāda	170
102	Abū Dardā'	179
103	Imrān b. Ḥasīn <sup>2</sup>	180
104	'Ubbāda b. al-Ḥāmit	181
105	Sahl b. Sa'd	188
106	Ma'd b. Yamān	225
107	Abū Umāma al-Bāhili <sup>3</sup>	250
108	Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ	271
109	Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī	281
110	al-Barā' b. 'Azīz	305
111	Abū Mōsa al-Ash'arī	368
112	Umm Salma, wife of Muhammad	478
113	'Alī (the fourth Caliph)	536
114	'Umar (the second Caliph)	532
115	'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ	700
116	Abū Ayyūb b. Mawūd	848
117	Abū Sa'ād al-Kharrāzī	1170
118	Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh	1540
119	Abū 'Aḥb b. Abhās	1660
120	'Āshat, wife of Muhammad	2210
121	Anas b. Mālik	2286

<sup>1</sup> F. S. No. 100.  
<sup>2</sup> F. S. No. 100.  
<sup>3</sup> F. S. No. 100.

No.	Name of the Companion	Number of <i>Hadith</i>
122	Abd. Manāf b. Umar b. al-Khattab	914
123	Abū Hurayra <sup>1</sup>	5374

It is evident from what has been said that the great mass of the traditions received by us are related by less than three hundred Companions. The *Musawatta* of Ibn Mālik contains the traditions related by 93 Companions<sup>2</sup>. The *Musnad* of Abu Dāwūd Jayānī contains those related by 211 of them. The *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal contains those related by about 700 Companions<sup>3</sup>. The two *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim contain those related by 258 and 215 Companions respectively, of whom 119 are common between the two great works.<sup>4</sup>

Of these 300 Companions referred to above, only 50 have related 100 or more traditions. Of these again only 12 are responsible for more than 100 traditions each. Six or seven of the latter, each of whom has reported more than 1000 traditions, are known as *al-Mukaththim*, i.e. the reporters of many traditions.<sup>5</sup>

All these eleven Companions enjoyed the privilege of long association with Muḥammad, had great thirst for his *Ḥadīth* (during his life-time), and could speak with authority about what he had said or done. They lived for a long time after his death when the mass of the traditions which they had learnt was handed down to the succeeding generations of the Muslims, whereas the knowledge gathered by the Companions who were either killed in the early battles or died shortly after the death of Muḥammad could not spread among the Muslims and was lost for good. The reporters of the largest number of *Ḥadīth* include :—

(1) TFA, pp. 184-86.

(2) SMU, I, 87.

(3) TK, I, 202.

(4) TFA, pp. 197-205.

(5) FM, p. 379; TA, p. 352.



(1) *Abû Hurayra*. *Abd Allâh* or *Abd al Rahmân*.<sup>1</sup> He stands at the top of the reporters of *Hadith* among the *Companions*, and was recognised by Muhammad himself as the most anxious Muslim for the knowledge of *Hadith*. He belonged to the tribe of Dûs, an offshoot of the great clan of Azd.<sup>2</sup> He came to Madinah in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the Hîjra, and being told that Muhammad was at Khaybar, went there and accepted Islam. Since then till Muhammad's death, he remained constantly in his company, attending him and learning his *Hadith* during the day, at the sacrifice of all worldly pursuits and pleasures, and remembering them by heart in the night.<sup>3</sup> After the death of the Prophet, he worked as a governor of al Bahrayn for some time during the caliphate of Umar, and acted as the governor of Madinah under the early Umayyad caliphs.<sup>4</sup> He died in 58<sup>8</sup>.

When Muhammad was no more, and the reports of his sayings and doings were sought in order to meet the daily rising cases, *Abû Hurayra*, who instructed more than 800 students in the subject, profusely poured out the store of knowledge he had so laboriously accumulated. Sometimes he was taken to task for reporting such traditions as were never heard by any other *Companion*. But he retorted that he had learnt what the *Anjar* Helpers had missed in attending to their lands and properties, and what the *Muhajirun* Refugees had failed to learn because of their business engagements, and that he had remembered what they had forgotten under the stress of their multifarious activities.<sup>5</sup> Once when he was taken to task by *Abd Allâh b. Umar* for relating a particular *Hadith*, he took him to *Ushbah* who bore witness to the truth of what he had related.<sup>6</sup> His knowledge and memory were also tested by Marwan who having written down some tradi-

(1) TIS, vol. iv, part 2, pp. 54ff.

(2) GT, No. 10.

(3) TIS, vol. iv, part 2, p. 54.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 60.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 56.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 58.

tion related by him wanted him after a year to relate the same, and found them to be exactly identical with his earlier narration.<sup>1</sup>

He is believed by the Muslims to have been so pious and conscientious a Muslim to put on the name of Muhammad any words which had not actually fallen from his lips, or to ascribe to him anything that he did not hear. But he does not appear to have been endowed by nature with a power of minute observation or a critical faculty strong enough to take cognizance of all the circumstances in which the Prophet uttered certain words or acted on a particular way. Many other Companions therefore had to examine some of the *Hadith* reported by him and to report some of them. A'ishah, having come to know that Abu Hurayra related that Muhammad had said that a woman was put in Hellfire because she kept a cat and did not feed it, pointed out to him that the woman was an unbeliever.<sup>2</sup> When she was told that Abu Hurayra related that Muhammad had said that three things are ominous—namely, a house, a horse and a woman—she said that Abū Hurayra came in while the Prophet was saying, "May God destroy the Jews! They say that ill luck is in three things—in a house—in a woman and in a horse." Abū Hurayra said, "A'ishah heard the last part of the *Hadith* and missed the first portion of it."<sup>3</sup> Abū M'likah Abū 'Ash'ah having come to know that Abū Hurayra related that Muhammad had said, *al-tahab min mā mayyat al-hat u-shu min thab u-shu* took him to task for relating such a *Hadith*.<sup>4</sup>

Considering the interest of Abū Hurayra's cultural attainments in general, his devotion to the Prophet and to his *Hadith* in particular, and the test applied to his memory and his narration by his own contemporaries during his lifetime, it appears to be very unlikely that he himself fabricated any

(1) SHM, pp. 38-39.

(2) MAT, No. 1400.

(3) MAT, No. 1537.

(4) 'Abtution necessitated by contact with his eye. "though it should be a piece of cheese" JT, 4, p. 12.

*Hadith*.<sup>1</sup> But it is possible that at a later period may have been attributed to him some *Hadith* for the narration of which he was not responsible. The fact that he narrated a very large number of traditions—larger than any other Companion—is said to have narrated—was explained by him—ll to his own contemporaries. It is therefore clear that the remark that Abu Hurayra was a poor humbler is unwarranted.<sup>2</sup>

2. Abū Abdur-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh is the second largest reporter of *Hadith*. He was the son of 'Umar, the second caliph. He had accepted Islam simultaneously with his father, and migrated to Madinah with him.<sup>3</sup> He took part in many battles during the life-time of Muhammad and in the wars in Mesopotamia, Persia and Egypt, but kept strict neutrality during the civil wars among the Muslims which followed the assassination of 'Uthmān. In spite of the great esteem and honour in which he was held by all the Muslims and notwithstanding the suggestion repeatedly made to him to stand up for the caliphate, which he obstinately refused, he kept himself entirely aloof from party strife and throughout these years led an unselfish pious life. He set an example of an ideal citizen just as his father had set an example of the ideal ruler. He died at Mecca in the year 74 (692) at the age of 87.

His long association with Muhammad, his blood relationship with Hāfa, wife of Muhammad and with some other Companions of the Prophet, offered him a splendid opportunity to learn *Hadith* and his long peaceful life gave him time and leisure to teach and spread *Hadith* among the Muslims who anxiously sought for them.

He was extremely careful in relating *Hadith* to others. al-Sha'bi says that he did not hear a single *Hadith* from him for one whole year.<sup>4</sup> When he related *Hadith* his eyes were

(1) SHM, pp. 1-30.

(2) LL, iii, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXV.

(3) TIS, vol. iv, part 2, pp. 105-137.

(4) TIS, vol. iv, part 1, pp. 100-25.

full of tears.<sup>1</sup> His activities in the service of Umar, his peers like his straightforward and honest career, and the careful and sympathetic treatment of the traditions put a seal of truth on such of them as are related by him.

3. **Abū Hurayra Anas b. Malik.** At the age of ten years, Anas was purchased by his mother, Umayy Sulaym, a Muhammad who had migrated to Madinah. Soon after the capture of the time of Muhammad's birth, he had been his favourite attendant.<sup>2</sup> After Muhammad's death, he was appointed by Abū Bakr on the advice of Umar as a tax collector at al-Bahrain. About the later part of his life he died down at Basra where he died in the year 40 A.H. when he was more than one hundred years old.<sup>3</sup>

During the ten years he spent in the service of Muhammad he had learnt a large number of his *Hadith*, of which he has learnt a good deal from Abu Bakr, Umar and many other Companions of the Prophet.<sup>4</sup> The knowledge of *Hadith* gathered by him was so extensive that his death was considered as a death blow to half of the entire mass of traditions.<sup>5</sup>

He is accepted by Muslim traditionists as one of the most reliable narrators of *Hadith*. There is no reason to suspect the genuineness of such traditions as may be proved to have been narrated by him.

4. **ʿA'ishah**, the daughter of Abu Bakr and the favourite wife of Muhammad, occupies the fourth place among the reporters of the largest number of *Hadith*. She enjoyed the constant company of Muhammad as his favourite wife for about eight and a half years.<sup>6</sup> She died in the year 56 A.H. when she was 65 years old.

(1) TIS, vol. iv, part 1, p. 124.

(2) TdH, vol. 2, p. 38.

(3) TA, p. 166.

(4) TdH, vol. 1, p. 38.

(5) TA, p. 167.

(6) TdH, vol. 1, p. 24.

She was endowed by nature with a retentive memory and a keen critical faculty. She remembered a large number of pre-Islamic Arabic poems and was taken during her life-time as an authority on Medicine and on Islamic Law.<sup>1</sup> As regards *ḥadīth*, she had not only learnt a large number of them in the company of her husband, but also had critical appreciation of them. She corrected the mistakes of many Companions when they committed in understanding and relating the words of Muḥammad. When, for instance, she was told that Ibn 'Umar had related Muḥammad to have said that the dead are punished in their graves on account of the lamentations of their relatives, she pointed out that Muḥammad had said that while the dead person was punished in his grave for his own faults and sins, his relatives wept for him. It was, she added, like another instance in which Ibn 'Umar had related the Prophet of God to have said of the dead bodies of the two lovers who were killed in the battle of Badr: "Verily they hear what I say." What, according to 'A'ishah, the Prophet had in fact said was: "Certainly they now know that what I used to say is true." In order to prove her contention 'A'ishah quoted the verse of the Qur'an which says that one could not make the dead hear, nor could one's voice reach those who are in the graves.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous instances of the criticism of *ḥadīth* by 'A'ishah which show how keen her critical faculty was are collected by a distinguished Indian scholar Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī in his *Yatīd al-Ḥadīth* the perusal of which is sure to be interesting and profitable to those who are interested in her charming personality and in the origin of the Islamic sciences.

It was on account of her extensive knowledge of *Ḥadīth* and Islamic Law that even the important Companions sought her advice on legal problems and a large number of them (and of other Muslims) sought for the knowledge of *Ḥadīth* from her. A long list of those who related *Ḥadīth* on her

(1) TdH, vol. i, p. 24.

(2) SB, I, *Maḥadīth al-Baḍī'ah*, vol. i, p. 10.



authority is given by 'Asqadîni in his *Tahdhîb al-Tahdhîb*.<sup>1</sup>

3. Abū al-Abbās Abd Allāh b. al-Abbās was born three years before the migration of Muhammad to Madinah,<sup>2</sup> and was 13 years of age at the time of his death. He was loved very much by Muhammad, which is apparent from the *Hadith* about him in all the Hadith collections. He died in 68/687 at the age of 71.<sup>3</sup>

He seems to have learnt a few *Hadith* from Muhammad himself. 'Asqadîni quoting Yahya b. al-Qattān refers to the assertion that Ibn 'Abbās related only 10 or 4 traditions from Muhammad himself, and adds that this estimate is not correct, because in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim alone are found more than ten of the traditions reported by Ibn 'Abbās directly from Muhammad.<sup>4</sup> There is, however, no doubt that the number of the *Hadith* reported by him directly from Muhammad is very small in comparison with what he has related from him through other Companions. These *Hadith* he had learnt from them by serious, hard labour. He says: "If I expected to learn any *Hadith* from a Companion, I went to his door and waited there—in spite of the wind bringing dust on me—till he came out and said: 'Cousin of the Prophet, what brought you here?' Why did you not send for me?"<sup>5</sup> I used to reply that it was only proper that I should go to him. Then I learnt the *Hadith* from him"<sup>6</sup>

Ibn 'Abbās was endowed by nature with keen intellectual powers and critical acumen. He was devoted to the study of the *Hadith* and the Qur'ân, and was loved on account of his intellectual ability by all the first four caliphs, and was respected by all his contemporaries. He had collected a large

(1) Vol. xii, No. 2841.

(2) UGh, vol. iii, p. 193.

(3) *Ibid* p. 195.

(4) TT, vol. v, No. 474.

(5) FIS, vol. ii, part 2, p. 121.

(6) *Ibid* p. 85-86.

number of treatises written then, now in the form of books, and I have lectured on them to his own disciples. His *Tafsir* of the Qur'ān which was handed down by his student, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳaḥḥān, has been referred to by later commentators.<sup>1</sup>

Some criticism of his political views have been criticised severely.<sup>2</sup> But his former success in several attempts at uniting his people is obvious. The reliability of the *ḥadīth*, however, whatever it proved to have been, cannot be in any question at all. Of course, much of what has been attributed to him must have been collected by later narrators.

6. ʿUṭayb b. Abī Allāh was one of the early Madīnite converts to Islam who attended the second Council of Muḥammad with the people of Madīnah at Meccah.<sup>3</sup> He took part in 19 battles in the company of Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> He died in Madīnah about the year 600 at the age of 94.

He learnt the *Ḥadīth* of Muḥammad not only from him, but also from many of his important Companions, e.g. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and others. He also learnt from the Followers *Ṭābiʿīn* like ʿUmm al-Ḳaḥḥān, the daughter of Abū Bakr. He used to teach *Ḥadīth* regularly in the mosque at Madīnah.<sup>5</sup>

7. Abū Saʿīd Saʿīd b. Malik al-Khaḍrī was one of the early Madīnite converts to Islam and wanted to take part in the battle of Uhud, but as he was too young, he could not then be allowed to take up arms. His father Malik was killed in this battle, and he himself took part in 12 of the battles fought during the lifetime of Muḥammad. He died at Madīnah in 64, 683.<sup>6</sup>

1. "Abd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās", I. Vecchia Vaghieri.

2. "Abd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās", F. Bold.

3. TdH, vol. i, p. 37.

(4) TA, p. 185.

(5) TT, vol. ii, No. 67.

(6) TA, p. 723.

He was one of the *Aḥab al-Ḥaḥ* i.e. a large group of poor Companions who worked in tax-farming for their livelihood, and devoted the night to the reciting of the Qur'ān and the learning of the *Sunnah* from their teachers. They were known as *al-Qurra* and were generally sent out of Madinah in order to instruct people in Islamic truths wherever such instruction was needed.

al-Kaḥiri learnt the *Ḥadeeth* from Muhammad as well as from his important Companions like 'Abd Bakr, Umar, Zayd b. Thābit, etc. He was considered to be the best Uḥayyī among the young Companions of Muhammad.<sup>1</sup>

8-11 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ūd<sup>2</sup>, 'Alī al-Layth, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs, 'Umar b. al-Khattāb and 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib were early converts to Islam. They had suffered for its cause, had enjoyed the company of Muhammad for a long time and lived after him long enough to transmit the *Ḥadeeth* which they had learnt from him. 'Alī al-Layth, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs in spite of being alive during the period of the civil war among the Muslims, kept himself free of party strife. Of course, he was present at the battle of Siffin between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah on account of the persistence of his father. But he took no active part in it. Even for his presence at the battle he was very regretful in his later life.<sup>3</sup> His interest in *Ḥadeeth* was great. He wrote down all the traditions which he learnt from Muhammad, and collected one thousand of them in a *Ṣiḥḥ* which he called *al-Ṣaḥiḥ*.<sup>4</sup> When he lived at Mecca, the seekers for *Ḥadeeth* collected round him in a large number. But as he lived mostly either in Egypt or at al-Lādī and not at Madinah which had been the centre of the learning of *Ḥadeeth* and since he was more occupied with prayers than with teaching *Ḥadeeth*, the later

(1) TT, vol. iii, No. 894.

(2) See "Ibn Mas'ūd" in EIS.

(3) UGh, vol. iii, pp. 233-35.

(4) *Ibid.* \*

generations of Muslims received fewer traditions from him than from Abū Hurayra, 'Aṣṭāḥ and others.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Companions, however, who have reported *ḥadīth* had been very careful in reporting the words of their master, as well as in accepting them from those who reported them. Abu Bakr, during his caliphate, sought for *ḥadīth*, but did not accept the words of those who reported them without a witness.<sup>2</sup> He also asked Muslims not to relate traditions which might cause discord among them.<sup>3</sup> Umar, the second caliph, carefully followed the example set by his predecessor Muḥammad,<sup>4</sup> Abū Musa.<sup>5</sup> Amr b. Umayyā<sup>6</sup> and Umayy b. Ka'b<sup>7</sup> were all compelled by him to produce witnesses for the traditions they had related. He is stated to have imprisoned 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Abū Dardā' and Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī because they related too many traditions.<sup>8</sup> Uthmān, his successor, in spite of being well-versed in traditions had been scrupulous in relating them.<sup>9</sup> 'Alī, the fourth caliph, did not accept any tradition unless the reporter declared it on oath.<sup>10</sup> 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd had been so cautious in relating traditions that when he related one he perspired and felt uneasy, and at once added that the Prophet of God had either said this or something like it.<sup>11</sup> Zubayr did not like to relate traditions, because he had heard Muḥammad say that he who attributed anything to him falsely would make his seat in hell-fire.<sup>12</sup> Sa'd b.

(1) FM, p. 379.

(2) SAD, *Kitāb al-ḥadīth*, in *Jawāzih*, vol. i, p. 45.

(3) TdH, vol. i, p. 3.

(4) SAD, "Diyat al-Jānū", vol. ii, p. 280.

(5) SB, vol. iv, p. 58.

(6) MAT, No. 1364.

(7) TIS, vol. iv, part 1, pp. 13-14.

(8) TdH, vol. i, p. 7.

(9) TIS, vol. iii, part 1, p. 39.

(10) SAD, vol. i, p. 220.

(11) TIS, vol. iii, part 1, p. 210.

(12) TIS, vol. iii, part 1, p. 110.

Abi Waqqas feared that people might add to what he related.<sup>1</sup> Abū Dardī<sup>2</sup> after relating a *Hadith* added that if Muhammad did not say this, he said something like it. This was the practice of Anas b. Malik also. He used to say that he preferred the heavens coming down upon him to attributing a false *Hadith* to Muhammad.<sup>3</sup>

The fear of committing mistakes in relating the words of Muhammad had been so great with his Companions that many of them did not relate any *Hadith* whatsoever. Abd Allah b. Mas'ūd related only two or three *Hadith* in a month.<sup>4</sup> Sa'd b. Yazid travelled with Sa'd b. Mā'k from Madinah to Mecca and did not hear him relate a single *Hadith*.<sup>5</sup> al-Sha'bi lived in the company of Abd Allah b. Umar for one whole year and never heard him relate a single *Hadith*.<sup>6</sup> Sa'd b. Yazid reports that he had been in the company of Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Auf, Talha b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Sa'd, and did not hear any of them relate a *Hadith* except that Talha related the *Hadith* of the battle of Uhud.<sup>7</sup> Suhayb was always ready to relate the historical traditions *maḥḥir*, but otherwise he did not dare to report the words of Muhammad freely.<sup>8</sup>

### THE PROBLEM OF THE PROHIBITION

#### AND PERMISSIBILITY OF KITABAT of *Hadith*<sup>9</sup>

Some of the Companions, however, who knew the art of writing had written down the *Hadith* during the life-time of Muhammad himself. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Ās secured his permission to write down his *Hadith*. Consequently, he

(1) & (2) TIS, vol. iii, pt. 1 p. 102

(3) JBI, part 1, pp. 78-79. \*

4) BD, p. 46

5) *Ibid*

(6) SIM, p. 4

7) TIS, vol. iii, part 1 p. 16. SB, vol. ii, 17

8) A detailed consideration of both the aspects of the problem, and copies data on them, will be found in SD, JBI, pp. 62-7, 11, and SHM 1-119. The contents of 11 have been summarized by A Sprenger in one of his articles (see JASB, vol. xxv, pp. 12-18 etc.

wrote whatever he heard from the Prophet<sup>1</sup> and collected a thousand of his sayings — a *Sahifa* which he called *al-Sadiqa*.<sup>2</sup> It was seen with him by al-Mujahid, and later on it came into the possession of Amr b. Shu'ayb,<sup>3</sup> a great grandson of 'Abdullah.<sup>4</sup> Amr b. Shu'ayb saw of Muhammad, had in his possession a *Sahifa* which contained certain laws.<sup>5</sup> Another *Sahifa* is reported to have been in the possession of Sumayy b. Jundab, which according to Qazduri is identical with the *Shahid* to his son concerning many *thumuh*.<sup>6</sup> Ibn b. 'Abd Allah also had a *Sahifa* the contents of which were later recorded by Qazduri.<sup>7</sup> Sa'd is also reported to have had a book out of which his son related certain practices of Muhammad.<sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Rahman has mentioned a *Hadith* which he related from the book of 'Abd Allah b. 'Abi 'Afa.<sup>9</sup> 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Rahman is reported to have collected together five *thumuh* which he destroyed because he suspected that he might have accepted one of these *thumuh* from one of the false persons.<sup>10</sup> 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abbas wrote down the *thumuh* which he learnt from 'Abd al-Rahman.<sup>11</sup> He appears to have collected *thumuh* in more than one book. al-Fura'fi reports in his *Kitab al-Furaf* that some people from al-'Irak brought to Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman one of his books and read it out to him.<sup>12</sup> He is also reported by Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman to have left at his death so many books that they might serve as a load for a camel. These books were later used by his son, 'Ali.<sup>13</sup> It is from these books

<sup>1</sup> TIS, vol. iv, part 2, p. 9.

(2) UG, vol. iii, pp. 233-35.

(3) TIS, vol. iv, part 2, p. 8.

(4) TF, vol. viii, No. 80.

(5) SB, k. 'Ilm, b. *Kitabat al-'ilm*, vol. i, p. 21 et al.

(6) JT, "al-Yamim ma' al-Sadhiq", vol. i, p. 120.

(7) MSi, vol. ii, p. 10.

(8) *Ibid*.

(9) *Ibid*.

(10) JT, vol. i, p. 120.

(11) TIS, vol. ii, part 2, p. 123.

(12) JT, p. 206.

(13) TIS, vol. v, p. 26.



of Ibn 'Abbas that al-Waqidi may have drawn some of his materials, as is shown by a passage quoted in the *Masāhib*.<sup>1</sup> Abu Hurayra also is reported to have written down *Ḥadīth* probably at the later stage of his life. The article *Ḥadīth* he showed to Ibn Wahb,<sup>2</sup> and to Umayr al-Dumī.<sup>3</sup> The *Sihifa* of Hammān based on the reports of Abu Hurayra is well known.<sup>4</sup>

Over and above the reports that we have received with regard to these *Sihifay* and book compiled by the Companions of Muhammad we have also received many reports of writing down the stray *Ḥadīth* by them. According to a report in the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhi one of the *Ḥawāṣṣ* complained to Muhammad of his weak memory and was advised by him to take the help of his right hand in writing.<sup>5</sup> Another Companion, al-Raḥī' also called Muḥāḍī, secured Muhammad's permission to write down *Ḥadīth*.<sup>6</sup> Once Abu Shah hearing Muhammad's oration in the year of the conquest of Mecca, requested him that it be written down for him and his request was granted.<sup>7</sup> Uthān b. Malik al-Ansārī liked a *Ḥadīth* so much that he wrote it down.<sup>8</sup>

Some stray *Ḥadīth* are reported to have been written down by the Companions at their own sweet will. Some of these may not be genuine, and some may prove to be identical with one another.

Muhammad himself had dictated laws with regard to the poor-tax,<sup>9</sup> the prayers and fasts, alms and blood-money, etc.<sup>10</sup>

1. ML.

2. FB, vol. i, p. 148.

3. JBI, part I, p. 74.

4. See SHM.

5. JT, vol. ii, p. 91.

6. JASB, vol. xxv, pp. 312-18.

7. SB, k. *Ḥim*, k. *kuḥbat*; FB, p. 148.

8. JASB, vol. xxv, p. 319.

9. SDq, pp. 204, 209, 485.

10. IS, vol. i, part I, p. 10.

One document concerning laws with regard to the alms which had been sent to the chief of war and after his death attached to his sword and came into the possession of his successors.<sup>1</sup>

There are, of course, traditions which forbid the writing of any thing — not then the Qur'ān generally, and of *Hadith* particularly. Abū Sa'īd Sa'd b. Malik al-Khudrī, Zayd b. Uthayl the scribe of Muḥammad and Abū Hurayra have related such traditions.<sup>2</sup> Many other Companions and many *Tābi'ūn* are reported to have disliked and discouraged the writing of *Hadith*. In this connection have been mentioned the names of Abū Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Abū Allāh b. Abbas, Abū A'raf b. Umar, Abū Musā, Ibn Sirm, Dāḥik, Abada, Ibrāhīm, Ibn al-Mu'annin, al-A'azir, al-Qanā, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Allāh al-Uwayni and others.<sup>3</sup>

Some of these like Abū and Ibn Abbas are as we have already seen, also reported to have written the *Hadith* and possessed some *Ṣiḥāḥ* and books. Some of them like Dāḥik, Ibrāhīm and al-Qanā are said to have objected to the writing of the *Hadith* in the form of a book, but not to making such notes of it as might serve as help to the memory. Some like 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and Ibn Sirm are said to have been against the writing of *Hadith* in any form.<sup>4</sup>

The Muslim doctors have tried to explain this apparent contradiction between these *Hadith* in various ways. Ibn Qutayba in his *Ta'at Muḥtaliḥ al-Hadith* says that either the prohibitive *Hadith* belonged to an earlier period in the life of Muḥammad and are cancelled by the later permissive ones or the prohibition was meant only for such Companions as were not well trained in the art of writing, and that such of them as could be relied upon to write correctly were allowed

1. SAD, *Zakāt al-Salima*, vol. i, p. 224.

2. MAH — 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

3. FBL vol. i, pp. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

4. SD, *loc. cit.* JASB, *loc. cit.*

to write the *Hadith* also. al-Nawawī in his Commentary on the *Sahih* of Muslim has offered some other explanations. Goldziher holds that the whole controversy with regard to the permissibility of writing down *Hadith* arose long after the death of Muhammad.<sup>1</sup>

We know, however, that though the art of writing was introduced into Arabia some time earlier than the birth of Muhammad, and Arabic prose works were not entirely unknown to the Arabs before him,<sup>2</sup> still neither the art of writing nor the Arabic prose works had been popular in the peninsula before the advent of Islam. Before Islam in the whole of Mecca the most advanced town in Arabia only seventeen persons knew how to write.<sup>3</sup> In Madinah where the influence of the Jews who are said to be the teachers of the Arabs in this art, had been considerable, the number of the Arabs who could write was less than a dozen, only nine being mentioned by Ibn Sa'd in his *Tabaqāt*.<sup>4</sup> He also says that writing was rare in Arabia before Islam and that it was considered a great distinction among the Arabs to know it. Hence such of them as combined the knowledge of the art of writing, swimming and archery were known as *al-kamil*, the perfect.<sup>5</sup> It is also stated that Dhu' al-Rumma, the last Makhadham port of Arabia, concealed his knowledge of this art on account of the fear of the public opinion against it.<sup>6</sup> 'The Beduin', says Goldziher, 'despises reading and writing even to-day'.<sup>7</sup>

(1) MSt, vol. ii, pp. 136-67. JASB, vol. xxv, pp. 37-67.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 204-205.

(3) FB, pp. 471f.

4. These are: Aḥū al-Ḥusayy b. Ka' al-ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa; Aḥb b. Ka' and Mānūt b. ʿAmr al-ʿUyayd and his father, al-Ḥudayr; Sa'īd b. ʿUbāda; Rāfi' b. Mālik.

(5) TIS, iii, 2, p. 91.

(6) KAg, vol. xvi, p. 121.

(7) MSt, vol. i, p. 112.

The Prophet did a good deal towards making this art popular among the Arabs. It cannot be without his efforts that such Muslims as came under his influence at an early age (e.g. 'Alī 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Ās and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās) learnt the art of writing. He asked 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ād b. al-'Ās, the Meccan, to teach the art of writing to the people of Madiinah.<sup>1</sup> He ordered Safa', the daughter of 'Abd Allāh, to teach this art to Hafsa, one of his wives.<sup>2</sup> He declared after the battle of Badr that each one of those prisoners of war, who were too poor to pay the required ransom and who knew the art of writing could gain liberty by teaching the art of writing to Muslim boys.<sup>3</sup> It was from one of these prisoners of war that Zayd b. Thābit, the trusted scribe of the Qur'ān, had learnt this art.<sup>4</sup> It could not have been without the suggestion of Muhammad, however, that Ubāda b. al-Ṣamit taught the Qur'ān and also the art of writing to some of the *Ashab al-nabi* one of whom presented him with a bow.<sup>5</sup>

It directly also Muḥammad played an important part in making the art of writing popular among the Arabs (viz. by establishing among them a state which necessitated the writing of treaties with the various tribes, letters to the various chiefs, orders to the state officials, and laws for conducting the affairs of the state). Even so, his immediate successors made the knowledge of writing compulsory in the schools established by them.

Muhammad, therefore, cannot be said to have had an 'aversion to the scribes' Sprenger. His sayings prohibiting the writing of *Hadith* in particular or of any thing other than the Qur'ān in general, which are weaker and fewer than the permissive *Aḥadith*, must have been based either on the generally unfavourable public opinion prevailing in Arabia at the

(1) UGh, "'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ād b. al-'Ās".

(2) JEn, p. 472.

(3) TIS, ii, 2, p. 14.

(4) TIS, ii 2, p. 14.

(5) MAH, v, 315.

beginning of his life as a prophet, or on the possibility of their being mixed up with the Qur'ân about the purity of which he was so scrupulous. As soon as he found that these dangers were over, he permitted that *Hadith* and things other than the Qur'ân might be written. The date of one of the *Hadith* in the *Sahih al-Bukhari*—i.e. the permission to write an oration for Abû Shâh in the year of the conquest of Mecca—favours the view that the permissive *Hadith* are later in date than the prohibitive ones, and therefore cancel them. The dictation of certain laws already referred to supports this theory. The attitude of 'Umar I towards the collection of *Hadith* shows that the prohibitive sayings of Muhammad were not in force at that time. It is reported that 'Umar had thought of collecting *Hadith*. It is extremely unlikely that in spite of the prohibition by Muhammad he could have considered the matter seriously for a whole month, that all the Companions should have advised him in favour of collecting the *Hadith*, and that in giving his own decision—contrary to their unanimous advice—he himself should have come forward with his fear of the negation of the Qur'ân—instead of quoting the sayings of Muhammad in favour of his decision.

Such European orientalists also as have made a critical study of the subject hold that some *Hadith* were written down during the very life-time of the Prophet. Dr. A. Sprenger, who rightly claims to have been the first to submit the sources of the life of Muhammad to a critical enquiry, says

"It is generally believed that the traditions were preserved during the first century of the Hijra solely by memory. European scholars under the erroneous impression that *haddathana*, 'I have been informed by' is the term by which the traditions are usually introduced, are of opinion that none of the traditions contained in the collection of al-Bukhârî had been written down before him." "This", he continues, "appears to be an error. Ibn 'Amr and other Companions of Muhammad committed his sayings to writing, and their example was followed by many of the *Tâbi'în*"<sup>1</sup>

(1) JASB, vol. xxv, p. 303.



The same laborious and learned orientalist in his instructive article on "The Origin and progress of writing down historical facts"<sup>1</sup> while discussing the pros and cons of the problem, says :—

"There were nevertheless some men even among the theologians and traditionists who from the earliest time wrote down the information which they wished to preserve. The most important among these are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amar, Anas b. Mālik and Ibn al-'Abbās, who were Companions of the Prophet and preserved more records of him than any one else. The *Aḥādith* related by 'Abd Allāh and Ibn al-'Abbās were preserved by their families in writing."

Ignaz Goldziher says — "The choice of the word *Matn* for the text of a *Ḥadith* as opposed to *Ḥudūd* the chain of authorities can also serve as a proof of the falsity of the assumption that according to the opinion of the Muslims, originally the writing of the *Ḥadith* was prohibited and it had been reduced to oral traditions only. It may be assumed that the writing of the *Ḥadith* was a very old method of its preservation. The aversion to writing them is the result of ideas which came into being at later times. Such of them the *Aḥādith* as are said to have been preserved in writing already in the first century may be thought to constitute the eldest ingredient of the *Ḥadith* materials. There is nothing against the assumption that the Companions and their students wanted to guard the sayings and the decrees of Muhammad, against forgetfulness by writing them down. How, then, in a society in which the wise sayings of ordinary men were preserved in writing, the preservation of the sayings of the Prophet would be left to the mere chance of oral tradition? Very many Companions carried their *ṣaḥīfas* with themselves, and out of them they conveyed their teachings and culture to their students. The contents of these *ṣaḥīfas* were called *Matn al-Ḥadith*."<sup>2</sup> Another passage in the same book reads — "Such reports show that the *Ashāb al-Ḥadith* do not reject the theory that

1, JADB, loc. cit.

2, MSt vol. II, pp. 8-9.



the sayings of the Prophet were written down in the earliest times. In fact we have been able to observe a series of statements on the existence of Tradition-*Sahifa* of some of the Companions" <sup>1</sup> The conclusion arrived at by Goldziher in these passages is incontrovertible. But his theory that the whole controversy about the permissibility of the writing down of *Ahadith* arose long after the death of Muhammad is unwarranted and indefensible. It is based on his assumption that the controversy arose as a result of some ideas which came into being at later times. But such ideas have not been defined by him.

1) MSi, II, 195.

## CHAPTER III

### HADITH AFTER THE DEATH OF THE COMPANIONS

"*Many of those who heard from us a saying and preserved it in his memory so that he might convey it to others, for there is nobody after us carries knowledge to a man more learned than himself, and many of those who carried knowledge have not assimilated it themselves*".

(*al-Tirmudhī*)<sup>1</sup>

#### THE FOLLOWERS (*al-Ṭābiʿūn*)

Many a time Muḥammad had expressed a desire that his *Hadith* should be well cultivated and widely spread. His wish, as we have seen, had been carried out by his faithful and devoted Companions.

After the death of Muḥammad and the establishment of the vast Islamic empire, the Companions settled down in different towns in the various provinces. In these towns they were surrounded by a large number of such Muslims who had known Muḥammad and were eager to hear the reports of his words and deeds from the lips of those who had lived and associated with him. Abū Dardā' at Damascus, Abū Idris at Limesa, Huṭhayfā at Kūfa, Anas at Bīṣra, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh and 'Aṣṭah and others at Madinah, and other Companions at other important towns, had round about them large circles of eager disciples who not only learnt from them the *Hadith* of their master, but also acquired from them the spirit of search for Traditions and for their careful cultivation and preservation.

Abū Dardā' had such a large crowd of disciples round about him as are found in the trails of the kings.<sup>2</sup> Mu'adh b. Jahal together with 32 other Companions related *Hadith* to

(1) J. T., ii, 90.

(2) TdH, vol. i, p. 22.

their disciples at Lame<sup>1</sup>. Haddhayfa delivered lectures on *Hadith* to a band of eager disciples in a mosque at Kūfa<sup>2</sup>. Ubayy b. Ka'b was one of the many Companions who taught *Hadith* to their students in the mosque at Medina<sup>3</sup>.

The early Muslims appear to have been extremely eager to hear the reports of Muhammad's *Hadith* from the lips of his Companions. It is related that such a large crowd of them collected round a Companion when he related *Hadith* that he was compelled to get on to the roof of a house in order to continue his address<sup>4</sup>. Abū Hanīfa, the founder of the Hanafite school of Muhammadan Law, reports that when he went to Mecca with his father in order to perform the pilgrimage he saw there a large crowd listening with great attention to a Companion who related to them the *Hadith* of Muhammad<sup>5</sup>.

These eager disciples of the Companions are known among the traditionists by the honourable title of *al-Tabi'in*, i.e. the Followers. They are divided into several classes according to the order of the Companions from whom they learnt and reported traditions. al-Hākim has classified them into 15 classes of which he has explicitly mentioned only 4<sup>6</sup>. Ibn Sa'd in his *Tabaqāt* has classified them into nine classes. But the majority of the later writers on *Umm al-Kutub* have classified them into three classes only :—

1. the disciples of such Companions as accepted Islam before the conquest of Mecca,
2. the disciples of such Companions as embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca, and
3. the disciples of such Companions as were not fully grown up at the time of Muhammad's death.

(1) MAH, vol. v, p. 328.

(2) TIS, vol. iii, part 2, p. 23.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.* vol. v, p. 213.

(5) JBI, part 1, p. 45.

(6) MLI, II.

Of the *Tabi'un*, the earliest to die is said to be Zayd b. Ma'mar b. Z'ad (wh. was killed in one of the Persian wars in the 30th year of the Islamic era). The one who was the last to die is said to be Khalīf b. Khadija who died in 180 A.H.<sup>1</sup> The *Tabi'un* therefore may be said to have preserved and propagated *Hadith* for more than a century – at first in association with the Companions, and when the latter had passed away with the help of their own disciples. The disciples of the *Tabi'un* are called *Muta'bi'un* (the followers of the followers). Some of these *Muta'bi'un* lived till about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.H.,<sup>2</sup> before the end of which were completed almost all the important works in the *Hadith* literature. The *Tabi'un*, however, who after the death of the Companions were taken as authority on *Hadith*, transmitted their knowledge to their own disciples, who in turn passed it on to the next generation.

#### THE TRADITIONISTS' DEVOTION TO HADITH

All these various generations of the Traditionists displayed magnificent activity in the pursuit of *Hadith*. Their love for the subject had been profound. Their enthusiasm for it knew no bounds. Their capacity to suffer for the sake of it had no limit. The rich among them sacrificed riches at its altar, and the poor among them devoted their lives to it in spite of their poverty.

We have already seen how devotedly the Companions had served the cause of *Hadith*. In their zeal for its propagation they had gone so far as was likely to cause the negligence of the Qur'ān itself, and Umar I had to stop them from it. After the death of the Companions, however, the Followers and their disciples propagated *Hadith* with unabated vigour. al-Zuhri (d. 121-74) spent money like water for the sake of it.<sup>3</sup> He had been so busy with works on *Hadith* that his wife

(1) FM, pp. 396-97.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) TIS, vol. 3, p. 140.

(4) TdH, vol. 1, p. 97.

preferred his having three more wives to his love for books.<sup>1</sup> Rabi'ah d. 150/753, in his search for *Hadith* spent all he possessed, and at the end had to sell the beams of the roof of his house and to live on the rotten dates which were thrown away by the people of Madinah.<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Mubarak spent 40,000 coins in search of *Hadith*.<sup>3</sup> Yabya b. Ma'm d. 233/847, spent on *Hadith* 150,000 silver coins which he had inherited from his father, and at the end he did not possess even a pair of shoes to put on.<sup>4</sup> 'Abd b. Asim spent 100,000 silver coins,<sup>5</sup> al-Dhahabi spent 150,000 coins,<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ruman d. 600,<sup>7</sup> and Hisham b. 'Ubayd Allah d. 224/835, 700,000 silver coins<sup>8</sup> in search of *Hadith*. Khawib Baghidadi gave away 200 gold coins to those who devoted their lives to *Hadith*.<sup>9</sup> Many other instances of this type can easily be gathered from the books on *Asma' al-Rijal*.

Such of the Traditionists, however, as were not born with silver spoons in their mouths did not give up their study of the subject in despair. On the contrary, they carried on their pursuit of it with inexhaustible energy and remarkable assiduity. Ibn Abi Dhrib d. 159/775, in his thirst for knowledge had to fast for days and nights continuously on account of his poverty.<sup>10</sup> Abū Hātim al-Razi, in spite of his poverty, stayed at Basra for fourteen years in order to learn *Hadith*. During this period once he had to sell even his clothes in order to get his livelihood.<sup>11</sup> al-Shafi'i, the founder of one of the

(1) WA, No. 574.

(2) JBI, i, 97.

(3) MUd, i, 17.

(4) TA, pp. 629-30.

(5) TdH, i, 290.

(6) TA, p. 174.

(7) TdH, i, 355.

(8) MUd, i, 17.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) TdH, i, 172.

(11) TdH, ii, 147.

schools of Islamic law, wrote the *Hadith* which he had learnt, on pieces of bones which he kept in a bag because in his student life he was too poor to buy paper.<sup>1</sup> al-Bukhārī, the famous traditionist, lived on grass and herb for three days during his travels in search for *Hadith*.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, it seems that most of the Traditionists had been poor, because many important authorities on *Hadith* held that poverty and readiness to suffer are indispensable for knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

The number of the seekers of *Hadith* who flourished during the various periods of its history had been legion. Among the Companions, Abu Hurayra alone is said to have related traditions to more than 800 students. At Kûfa alone when Ibn Sirm visited that town, there lived 4000 students of *Hadith*.<sup>4</sup> At Madīnah with Abū Zinād d. 132 A.H. alone associated 38 students of *Hadith*,<sup>5</sup> and later on, the door of Malik b. Anas became a rendezvous for a crowd of them who sometimes even quarrelled among themselves for a seat near the Imām at his lectures.<sup>6</sup> The discourses of 'Alī b. 'Āsim on *Hadith* were attended by more than 40,000 students,<sup>7</sup> those of Sulaymān b. Harb by 40,000,<sup>8</sup> those of 'Āsim b. 'Alī, by 120,000,<sup>9</sup> those of Yazid b. Hārūn, by 70,000,<sup>10</sup> and those of Abū Mushāh Kaffī<sup>11</sup> by an immensely large number of students of whom only those who used ink-pots for taking down notes were found to exceed 40,000.<sup>12</sup>

(1) JBI, i, 98.

(2) MFB, 162.

(3) JBI, i, 97-98.

(4) IR, 275.

(5) FA, 714.

(6) IR, 134.

(7) THH, v, 280.

(8) TB, ix, 33.

(9) TH, vii, 7.

(10) THH, v, 294.

(11) TH, ix, 100. TdT, ii, 196. TB, v, 127.

(12) A vast majority of the students of *Hadith* mentioned here may have been irregular students. As regards the regular ones, their number



The attendance of such an incredibly large number of students at lectures on *Hadith* may be explained in the light of some of the methods of teaching *Hadith* which will be described later. The best one of these methods, which is called *Sama*—Hearing, includes *Imla'*—Dictation. It consists in the recitation of *Hadith* by the teacher to his students. In order to do this, the teacher must purify his mind from all worldly thoughts, dress cleanly and properly, and appoint some scholars well versed in *Hadith* to keep order among the students and to reproduce his recitations to such students as might be unable to follow the lecture because of sitting at a distance from him. The lecturer should stand up at an elevated place. He should recite every word of each tradition distinctly, loudly and slowly so that the students might be able to write it down. The various reproducers should repeat exactly, distinctly, slowly and loudly the words of the lecturer to the students near about each one of them. Their number should be in accordance with the number of the students attending the lectures. In the case of the lectures delivered by Abū Muḥammad Kaḡī at Baghdād, there were appointed by him seven reproducers. At the end of the lecture, the place occupied by the students who attended the lecture was measured, the ink-pots used by them and left by them in the field were counted, and after careful calculation the number of the students who wrote down the *Hadith* was fixed at 40,000.<sup>1</sup>

The number of such traditionists as had attained mastery of the subject and were taken as authorities on it was also

most natural way have been counted. For instance, the number 5000 of students who attended the school of *Hadith* founded by Abū Abī al-Ḥusayn (c. 333 A.H.) at Nīshāpūr, a remarkable centralized institution. See Elvy, *Madrasa*, p. 1. Peeters, pp. 10–11. It is also stated in this article (p. 30) that "the madrasa introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, who, a definite number of students, as a rule twenty, was allotted to a particular teacher".

(1) *Op.cit.*, p. 1.

quite large. At Mehdh al-ne when Imām Mālik went there to study *Hadith* there lived 70 such transmissionists as had associated with the Companions and had learnt *Hadith* from them and from the Followers.<sup>1</sup> In Bagdad alone there lived 800 *shayakh* at the end of the second century A.H.

### FORGERY IN HADITH AND ITS CAUSES

Faṣṣe and a large number of similar instances which may easily be gathered from the works on *Asma' al-Rijāl* shew how large a number of Muslims pursued the study of *Hadith* in every period of the history of Islam. But all of them could be neither equally competent to take up this great task, nor could they be equally serious and careful in pursuing it. During the period following the death of Muḥammad many Companions as we have already seen were censured by their friends for their carelessness and want of scruple in what they related from the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> Among the Followers and their Successors, with the rise of the various parties and sects in Islam, the number of the careless and immature students and teachers of *Hadith* greatly increased. Some of them were careless in the choice of their own teachers, some of them made *bona fide* mistakes in relating to their students what they had learnt for themselves, and some of them made wilful changes in the text or in the *Isnad* of some *Hadith*, and forged others for the sake of personal profit or party gain or even with the pious intention of calling people to the Path of God and to the dictates of Religion.

Thus originated and gained currency among the Muslims a large number of forged traditions which may be traced to one of the following four classes of forgers.

1. The Heretics and the enemies of Islam who wanted to destroy the simplicity and the purity of the faith.

(1) TA, 532.

(2) See also *infra*, chapter ix.

- 2 The party leaders and the sectarian preachers and the seekers of favours from the ruling chiefs.
3. The Story-tellers (*al-Qussâs*).
- 4 The so-called pious traduists who either committed *bona fide* mistakes, or held it permissible to forge traditions for religious and pious purposes.

1 The Heretics *al-Zanâdqa* who flourished under various garbs during the various periods of the history of Islam, caused havoc in the *Hadith* by their wilful forgery of thousands of traditions, and by propagating them among the Muslims. 'The *Zanâdqa*', says Hammâd b. Zayd, "have concocted 14,000 traditions in the name of the Prophet of Islam"<sup>1</sup>. To name only a few of them, I may mention Abd al-Karim b. Abi al-'Auja, Bayyân b. Sam'an and Muhammad b. Sa'ad, all of whom were put to the sword for their heresies, and the first of whom alone had forged 1000 traditions in the name of the Prophet of Islam<sup>2</sup>. Another heretic who had been killed by the order of Hârûn al Rashid is said to have confessed that he had forged 1000 *Ahâdith*<sup>3</sup>.

2 The Heretics, however, could not do much damage to the Traditions of Islam. They were well known as anti-Islamic. Their statements could not be accepted by the Muslim world. The real danger to *Hadith* was caused by the Muslim friends themselves. The various party leaders, the numerous sectarian preachers, and the seekers of favours from the caliphs and their chiefs, proved more dangerous to the genuineness and purity of *Ahâdith* than the declared Heretics. These Muslims, with their avowed profession of the faith of Islam, could not be expected to put into the mouth of their own Prophet what they themselves had forged. But immediate personal gain or even the vain hope of it, has often

(1) TR, 103.

(2) *Ibid*.

(3) MUd, 1, 286.

proved to be a greater force than truth and righteousness, and the love of party and sect has often been more powerful than that of high principles. Some of the party leaders and sectarian chiefs in the history of Islam also failed to rise above personal and party considerations. They did not hesitate to ascribe to their Prophet a saying that might serve their immediate object. al-Muhallab d. 83/702, the great adversary of the Khawarij, confessed that he had forged traditions against them.<sup>1</sup> Awatāb b. al-Hakam d. 158/774 and others who belonged to the Umayyad party corrected traditions in their favour.<sup>2</sup> Abū al-Asra Muhammad b. al-Qasim forged *ḥadīth* in favour of the 'Alid party.<sup>3</sup> Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Jalqini d. 110/922, an important member of the *Majusi* sect, forged such *ḥadīth* as supported the doctrines of his sect.<sup>4</sup> Ghuyāth b. Ibrahim a convert of al-Mahdī, made such inter-tribal charges in a *ḥadīth* as might please the caliph.<sup>5</sup> Muḥṣin b. Sulaymān d. 150/767 expressed to the same caliph his readiness to correct for him some traditions edifying 'Alī as, the father of the caliph.<sup>6</sup> Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Saymā forged *ḥadīth* in favour of the *Sufri*.<sup>7</sup> Muhammad b. al-Hasan corrected traditions edifying 'Alī and in favour of the *Sunnis*.<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact, most of the traditions edifying certain divisions or tribes or a particular province or district or town, or glorifying a sect or a sectarian leader, many of which are cited by Goldziher,<sup>9</sup> owe their origin to some of these wilful forgers, and are declared by eminent authorities on *Ḥadīth* to be mere concoctions.<sup>10</sup>

(1) MSt, ii, 44, cf. WA, No. 764.

(2) MU'd, vi, 94.

(3) IM, v, No. 1136.

(4) TR, 103.

(5) IM, iv, No. 1296.

(6) TI, 73.

(7) IM, v, No. 466.

(8) *Ibid.* No. 431.

(9) MSt, ii, ch. 2.

(10) Ibn al-Jawzī (Maudu'āt).

3 The *Qassāḍ*, the story-tellers. Though much humbler in position than the leaders of parties or sects, these were not less dangerous than the latter for the tradition of Islam. Their main business at first was to relate moral stories after the morning and the evening prayers in order to exhort the people to do good deeds. Their origin may be traced back to the time of Umar b. al-Khattāb who is said to have permitted for the first time al-Tamīm al-Dārī whom al-Dīnawarī<sup>1</sup> considered to have been the first story-teller in Islam or Ubayd b. 'Umayr (whom Ibn Sa'd<sup>2</sup> considers to have been the first story-teller to relate moral stories to people. Mu'āwiyah<sup>3</sup> d. c. 680 under of the Umayyad dynasty, gave them the title of 'the common story-tellers' i.e. as opposed to 'the special story-tellers' who were appointed by Mu'āwiyah himself in order to counteract the propaganda of his opponents against him.<sup>4</sup>

These story-tellers, among whom may be included the common street preachers who held no official position, had to deal with the credulous common people, who appreciated amusing stories and fables more than the hard facts, dry laws, and genuine traditions. They soon grew in number, spread in Mesopotamia and Central Asia, and adapted themselves to their audience, who were attracted more by their amusing stories than by the learned discourses of the scholars. At an early period in the history of Islam,<sup>5</sup> they degraded their position to that of fable-mongers whose main object was to please the public and to squeeze gold and silver coins out of their pockets. In order to gain this object, they invented thousands of such amusing fables as might appeal to the common herd of people, attributed them to the Prophet, and related them to their audience. One of them related to his audience on the authority of Ahmad b. Hubal and Yahya b. Ma'in

(1) See MSt, ii, 161 f.

(2) TIS, v, 34.

(3) MSt, ii, 161-62.

(4) KQ, 303-304, fn.

(5) 'Abd Allāh b. Abbas d. 687 had condemned them as enemies of God. 58, 'Iṣṭiṣṣat al-Aḥyā', vol. ii, p. 400.



that when one said "There is no god but God" *Lâ Ilâh illâ Allâh*, there was created by God for each letter or word uttered by him a bird with a beak made of gold and feathers made of pearls. Then this story-teller related a long story in continuation of the forged tradition. At the end of his sermon, he was told by Ahmad and Yahya who were present on the occasion that they had never related any tradition to him. The story-teller tried to silence his critics by making fun of them.<sup>1</sup> Another *Qassî* related to an audience in a mosque numerous traditions on the authority of Harim b. Hayvân d. 16 A.H., and when he was challenged by the latter, he said that he was not the only Harim in the world. "As a matter of fact," said the undaunted story-teller, "fifteen persons by the name of Harim were present in this very mosque."<sup>2</sup> Kulthûn b. Amr al-A'udî once collected a crowd round himself in a mosque and related to them with complete *Ibad al-Hadith* saying that he who touched the tip of his nose with his tongue might rest assured that he would never be sent to Hell. The audience showed their readiness to accept this forgery as a genuine tradition by trying to ascertain their fate through their success in experimenting with what they had heard.<sup>3</sup>

The selfishness of the *Qassîs* was so great that they not only did not feel ashamed of forging traditions in the name of the Prophet for their own personal gain, but they also could have no love for one another. A proverb says: "One story-teller does not love another."<sup>4</sup> But sometimes in order to do mischief to the people and to gain their own end, two story-tellers would work together to forge traditions. Thus, one of them stood up at one end of a street narrating traditions on the merits of 'Alî, whereas the other stood up at the other end of it relating to his audience traditions exalting Abû Bakr. They gained money from the Shu'ah as well as from

ME i, No. 140. MSt, ii, 160.

<sup>2</sup> MSt ii, 164. KAc no. p.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> KAm.



the Nāshibis in this way, and later on equally divided it among themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Their activities were so dangerous for the traditions of Islam as well as for the State itself that Malik b. Anas did not allow them to step into the mosque at Madīna.<sup>2</sup> Various traditionists censured many of them, and in the year 279 they were stopped from their activities in Basrah.<sup>3</sup>

4. The most dangerous class of the forgers of traditions consisted of the so-called pious traditionists themselves. Their love for the traditions of Islam could not be doubted. Their sincerity of purpose could not be denied. But it is rightly said by an eminent English writer: 'Every one kills the object of his love'. Many of the pious traditionists tried unknowingly, of course, to kill the Science of Traditions by forging thousands of traditions, by ascribing them to Muhammad and giving them in currency among the Muslims.

Nu'ayb al-Muraym, who had studied theological sciences with theologians of great reputation, was known as *al-ḥamī* 'the man of comprehensive scholarship' on account of his vast and varied learning. He acted as a judge at Merv during the reign of al-Mansur, the second Abbasid caliph. He related traditions describing the virtues of the various chapters of the Qur'ān. But when he was pressed for the authorities from whom he had received these traditions, he confessed that he had forged them for the sake of God and in order to attract people to His Book.<sup>4</sup> Aban b. Abī 'Ayyāsh, who was one of the most godly persons of his time, was severely censured by Shu'bah b. al-Battā' and more than 1500 traditions related by him on the authority of Anas were declared to have no foundation.<sup>5</sup> Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Bāhili d. 275-888 was counted as one of the most pious persons of his time, but

(1) YD, iii, 179.

(2) MSt, ii, 168.

(3) ATb, iii, 2131.

(4) MIt, iii, 245; TR, 102.

(5) MIt, i, 7-8.

Abu Dā'ūd having looked into 400 traditions which were related by him found that all of them were forged ones. Ahmad himself confessed to have forged traditions in order to make the heart of the people tender and soft (*tarīq al-qulūb*). Sulaymān b. 'Amr al-Nakharī, generally known by his surname Abū Dā'ūd, was a contemporary of Ahmad b. Hanbal and he lived in the city and lived pious as the night more than any of his contemporaries. But he was characterized by the critics as a liar and forger of traditions.<sup>1</sup> Wahb b. Hud was generally recognised as a virtuous Muslim. His asceticism was so acute that for twenty years he did not talk to any one. But he did not hesitate to forge traditions.<sup>2</sup> These and many other well-intentioned and outwardly pious Muslims—like Maysara b. Abī Rabbī' al-Ṭabarī, Abī Ḥabīb al-Ḥafṣī, the son of 'Uyayy, 'Umar b. al-Khayr<sup>3</sup> and 'Umar al-Muhajir<sup>4</sup>—were like Ahmad b. Hanbal<sup>5</sup> and the followers of Muhammad b. Ismā'īl<sup>6</sup> held that it was permissible to forge traditions in order to attract people to good deeds and to warn them against the evil ones. They forged hundreds of traditions and connected thousands of *ḥadīth* and considered their forgeries to be religious and pious and hoped for reward from God for them.

These impostors, pretences and various worldly and gossy Muslims—the hypocrites as well as the friends of Islam—forged thousands of traditions, and gave certificates to them all over

(1) *Mu*, 67; *LM*, i, 202.

(2) *Ibid.* i, 419.

(3) *LM*, vi, No. 819.

(4) *Ibid.* No. 480; *TR*, 102.

(5) *Mu*, i, No. 321.

(6) *Ibid.* ii, 13.

7 *Ibid.* 23.

8 *Ibid.* ii, 257.

9 *MSt* ii, 40.

10 *TR*, 102.

the Muslim world. Muhammad b. 'Ukkāsh and Muhammad b. Tamīm forged more than 10,000 traditions.<sup>1</sup> Abu Sa'īd b. Ja'far forged more than 300 traditions in the name of Abū Hurayrah only.<sup>2</sup> Ahmad al-Qasbi<sup>3</sup> concocted more than 300 traditions. Ahmad b. Murwazī<sup>4</sup> forged more than 10,000 traditions. Hasan al-Basrī<sup>5</sup> forged more than 1000 traditions. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sulaymān forged about 200 traditions. Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jubārī<sup>6</sup> forged many thousand traditions. 'Abd al-Rahīm<sup>7</sup> forged more than 500 traditions. Further a large number of other forgers like Ziyād b. Maymūn,<sup>8</sup> Shu'ayb b.<sup>9</sup> 'Abd Allāh Jarrah b. Amir,<sup>10</sup> etc. concocted thousands of false *Aḥādith* some of which are quoted in the sermons and recited from the pulpits even to-day.

#### THE HONEST AND CRITICAL TRADITIONISTS

But there lived in every period in the history of *Ḥadīth* numerous truth-loving, God-fearing, honest and scrupulous traditionists who neither cared for personalities and parties nor feared power and public opinion. Their sole object in life was to learn the true traditions of their prophet, to preserve their purity and genuineness, and to propagate them among the Muslims. They pursued it neither as a matter of pleasure and pastime, nor for the sake of pecuniary gain or public fame, nor in order to influence people and their thought. They followed it for its own sake. To them 'knowledge' was the end, not a means. With them, as Sufyān al-Thaurī

(1) TR100 *et al.*

(2) MIt, i, No. 22.

(3) *Ibid.* No. 562.

(4) *Ibid.* No. 564.

(5) *Ibid.* No. 1816.

(6) *Ibid.* No. 403.

(7) *Ibid.* ii, 128.

(8) *Ibid.* i, No. 2918.

(9) *Ibid.* No. 3641.

(10) *Ibid.* No. 3950.

says, the parsimony of *Hadith* had become like a disease which they could not help.<sup>1</sup>

During the early period of the history of Islam, when the Companions who had associated with Muḥammad were living, many of them—as we have already seen<sup>2</sup>—had been extremely scrupulous in relating the traditions as well as in accepting those related by their friends. Among the followers of *Tahawī*, a large number of whom flourished during the second half of the first and the first half of the second century of the Islamic era, Ibn Abī Laylā (24-83), Qāsim b. Muḥammad Raḥī, b. Ḥaywā (d. 112-730), Muḥammad b. Saḥbān (d. 111-728), Abū Zinād (d. 132-749), Yahyā b. Saʿīd (d. 143-763) and many others had been extremely honest and strict with regard to the authorities from whom they received the traditions of their prophet.

Ibn Abī Laylā used to say that one could not be credited with the knowledge of *Hadith* unless he was able to reject some of them and to accept others.<sup>3</sup> Qāsim and Raḥī and Ibn Saḥbān had been scrupulously honest about each word of the *Hadith* which they related,<sup>4</sup> and the last one of them had declared that *Hadith* was religion, and had warned people to be careful with regard to those from whom they received it.<sup>5</sup> Jāʿis b. Kaysān of Yemen had advised the students of *Hadith* to learn it from pious persons only,<sup>6</sup> and Abū al-ʿAlīya relates that whenever a seeker for *Hadith* went to any traditionist to learn it from him, he enquired at first about the piety and reliability of his would-be teacher.<sup>7</sup> al-Zuhri was of opinion that the *Isnād*—chain of authorities—was indispensable for a *Hadith*.<sup>8</sup> Abū Zinād states that when he went to

1. JbI, ii, 151.

2. See *supra* pp. 13ff.

3. JbI, ii, 152.

4. *Ibid.*, i, 30.

5. SM, i, 11.

6. ʿSD, 61.

7. SM, i, 4.

8. IR, 183.

Madinah in order to learn *Hadith*, he found there one hundred such traditionists as were considered reliable in ordinary matters, but unreliable as teachers of *Hadith*—apparently because they did not come up to the high standard of honesty which was expected from the teachers of traditions, and therefore the traditions related by them were not accepted by any one.<sup>1</sup> Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm says that only such traditions are to be accepted as are related by persons who were strict in observing religious duties.<sup>2</sup>

The spirit of scrupulous care with regard to the choice of the teachers of *Hadith* among the Followers was imbibed by their students and kept up by a large number of them throughout the period during which they flourished. Among them Malik b. Anas (93-179/711-795), on going to Madinah in search of *Hadith*, found in the mosque seventy such traditionists as had gathered their knowledge from the Companions and the Followers, but he accepted traditions only from such of them as were trustworthy, and whenever he had any doubt with regard to any part of a tradition, he gave up the whole of it as unreliable.<sup>3</sup> He held that one should not accept the *Aḥādith* related by the light-witted, nor those related by persons who held erroneous views and propagated them, nor those related by people who told lies ordinarily—even if they were not accused of it in connection with *Hadith*—nor those related by such eminent, honest, and pious persons as were not conversant with the subject-matter of the *Aḥādith* which they related.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the contemporaries of Mālik shared with him his scrupulous care with regard to the authorities from whom they received the traditions. These include Shu'ba b. al-Hajāj (83-160/702-776), Saḥyān al-Thaurī (97-161/715-777), Hammād b. Saḥama d. (167-783), Hammād b. Zayd (98-179/716-795), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (121-181/738-797).

(1) SM, i, 12.

(2) SD, 61.

(3) TA, 531-32.

(4) JBI, ii, 48; TD, iv, 172.

Yahya b. Isḥāq al-Ṣāḥibī, Yahya b. Saʿid al-Qaṭmī 120-198/737-813, and many others.

This careful scrutiny of those who related traditions was continued with unabated vigour by a large number of the students of *Hadith* — the succeeding generations of the traditionists — al-Shāfiʿī 160-204/767-820, a student of Mālik and the founder of one of the important schools of Islamic law, made a careful scrutiny of the reliability of not only those from whom he himself received tradition, but also of their authorities.<sup>1</sup> He rejected the *Muwattaʿ* of even al-Zuhri.<sup>2</sup> Yahya b. Muʿīn 206-255/772-841 did not include any *Hadith* in his works unless it was supported by 30 independent chains of authority.<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Qayyim claims to have included in his collections only such *Ḥadith* as were supported by 100 chains of authorities.<sup>4</sup> Ahmad b. Ḥanbal's care about the authorities is well known. Even on his death-bed he did not forget to ask his son to strike off a *Hadith* from his great *Musnad* because it was contrary to many more reliable traditions.<sup>5</sup> In Bikhārī's scrupulous honesty and exactitude are generally admitted. Muslim's scrutiny of the *Riwayat* is clearly shown by his instructive introduction to his great work. Abū Dāʿūd al-Sijistānī 204-275/835-910, al-Tirmidhī 220-320/826-907, al-Nasāʾī 229-303/842-915, Muḥammad b. Juhā al-Jabārī 224-300/838-911, Abū Mālik b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī 214-317/829, and a large number of other traditionists, who lived in the various periods of the history of *Hadith*, were sincere, honest and scrupulous in the pursuit and propagation of the subject.

### THE CRITICISM OF THE REPORTERS

These and other sincere devotees of *Hadith* were not content with the mere scrutiny of the reporters of traditions, but they

(1) RSH, 57 ff.

(2) TK, i, 10.

(3) TA, 629; TH, viii, 17.

(4) Mlt, i, 18; TH, viii, 110.

(5) TK, i, 202-203.



also tried to make known to the whole Muslim world the character of the interested forger and of the incompetent and erroneous reporters. *Ra'y*.<sup>1</sup> During the early period of the history of Islam when Companions were living, Ibn 'Umar—who was told that Abu Hurayra included the bed-dogs<sup>2</sup> among the exceptions—e-dogse-immalel by the Prophet to be killed—did not reserve to point out that Abu Hurayra had a personal interest in the matter.<sup>3</sup> And, therefore, according to al-Bayhaqi, he forged these words. But according to the Muslim tradition, is Ibn 'Umar meant to accept Abu Hurayra's version because he had good reason to know the tradition better. Muhammad al-Harithi, d. 660, wanted however to kill al-Harith on account of his forging. Ibrahim al-Nakha'i, d. 95/714, informed his pupils of the doubtful character of al-Harith and asked them to keep away from Muḥibb b. Sa'd and Abu Abd al-Rahmān<sup>4</sup> for they were liars. Qatāda, d. 117/735, pointed out to the students of *Hadith* the false presumptions of Abū Dāwūd the blind. Ibn 'Aun<sup>5</sup>, d. 151/768, being sick about *Hadith* related to him by Shuḥb and Ṭayyib, summoned al-Sufyān al-Thawri, Sa'ib b. Munk and Ibn 'Umar instructed people to make the character of the unreliable reporters known to the public.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, criticism of Companions and Followers had entered various reporters of the traditions, and Shuḥb and Yahya b. Sa'ad who are generally said to be the first critics of the reporters<sup>7</sup> had only made special efforts with regard to their criticism.<sup>8</sup> Ibn Abī 277/360 and 970, while describing his predecessors in the field of the criticism of the reporters of *Hadith* has mentioned the names of Ibn Abī As, Uḥayda b. al-Sāma and Anas among the Companions, and of al-Shaḥī, Ibn Sa'ad and Sa'ib b. al-Musayyib among the Followers. He also says that the

<sup>1</sup> *ZUM*, I, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>2</sup> *Loth*; *MSt*, II, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *SN*, I, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *LA*, I, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *TR*, II, 1.

number of the critics of *Riḡaʿ* in the early period was comparatively small because of the small number of the weak reporters, and little chance of mistakes and forgeries. When about the middle of the second century the erroneous reporters increased in number, a group of important traditionists discussed the integrity and reliability of the reporters of traditions. These included al-A'mash, Sa'īd b. Mubarak, Ma'mar, Hishām b. Dastawaj, al-Auzai, al-Thauri, Ibn al-Māḥḥun, Hammād b. Sa'īd, Layth b. Sa'īd and after them Hushaym, Ibn al-Mubarak, Abū Ishaq al-Fazri, al-Ma'āfi b. Imrān, Bishr b. al-Mufaddal, Ibn Uways, Ibn Ulayya, Ibn Wahb and Waki'.<sup>1</sup>

These honest traditionists were guided in their pursuit of *Ḥaḍīṭ* neither by the government and the party leaders, nor by the sectarian and personal considerations, but by the pure love of genuine traditions. The Umayyads and the Abbasids made little difference to them. Under the Abbasids also, when by their outward show of love for religion tried to reconcile them, the traditionists continued their strict neutrality towards the government and the various parties striving for power. One of these Ahl Al-Ḥadīth who may be considered a pillar of traditions, the son of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb took no part in civil strife, and rejected the suggestion of Marwān that he should make a bid for the caliphate.<sup>2</sup> Aḥl Al-Ḥadīth Abbas kept strict neutrality in the fight for the caliphate between Ibn al-Zubayr and Aḥl al-Madīna.<sup>3</sup> Aḥl Al-Ḥadīth Amr b. al-'As went up to the field of Siffin on account of the persistence of his father, but took no part in the battle between Mu'awiyah and Ali and throughout the rest of his life he repented himself even for having gone to the field.<sup>4</sup> Abū Dharr,<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad b. Muslima,<sup>6</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Mu'ayyib,<sup>7</sup>

(1) Quoted by al-Jazā'irī. *TN*, 114.

(2) *TIS*, vol. iv, part 2, p. 111.

(3) *U Gh*, iii, 194.

(4) *Ibid*, 214.

(5) *TIS*, vol. iv, part 1, p. 161.

(6) *Ibid*, iii, 2, p. 20.

(7) *Ibid*, v, pp. 90 ff.

Abū al-Āliya,<sup>1</sup> al-Mutarraf,<sup>2</sup> al-Hasan b. Yasar,<sup>3</sup> al-Masrūq<sup>4</sup> and many other Companions and Followers kept strict neutrality during the civil strife between the various parties in the early history of Islam. Some of them preferred prison and physical torture to giving support to any party against their own conviction. For example, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib was whipped by Ibn al-Zuhayr and was put to torture by Hishām b. Ismā'il who would have him declare allegiance to 'Abd Allāh or to the sons of 'Abd al-Malik. Yahya b. Abī Kuthayr (d. 129/746) was severely tortured for condemning the Umayyads.<sup>5</sup> Ubayd Allāh b. Rāfi was beaten by the order of Amr b. Sa'īd.<sup>6</sup> Malik was whipped by the order of al-Mansūr, because some of his decrees (*fatāwa*) did not suit the latter.<sup>7</sup> Sufyān al-Thaurī (97-161/715-77) was ordered by the same caliph to be put to death.<sup>8</sup>

The unpleasant and heated conversations between Ahmad b. Qays and Ma'āwiyah,<sup>9</sup> between al-A'mash and 'Abd al-Malik,<sup>10</sup> between Sālim and Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik,<sup>11</sup> between Abū Hāzim and the same caliph,<sup>12</sup> between al-Hasan al-Basri and 'Umar b. Hubayra,<sup>13</sup> and between al-Auzā'i and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī<sup>14</sup> clearly show the highly strained relationship between the orthodox traditionalists and the Umayyad as well as Abbasid rulers and authorities.

(1) TIS, vii, 1, p. 82.

(2) *Ibid.* 103.

(3) *Ibid.* vii, 1, p. 119.

(4) *Ibid.* vi, p. 52.

(5) *Ibid.* v, pp. 90, 93, 95-96.

(6) TdH, i, 115.

(7) KK, i, 284.

(8) WA, No. 560.

(9) TA, 287.

(10) WA, No. 304.

(11) *Ibid.* No. 270.

(12) *Ibid.* Nos. 251, 278.

(13) *Ibid.* No. 155.

(14) TdH, i, 162-64.

Under the Abbassids also many scrupulous orthodox Muslim scholars like Al-*Ḥumayr*<sup>1</sup> Saṭīb b. al-*Ḥaary*<sup>2</sup> etc. continued their attitude of intolerance towards the caliphs and their government. Some of these scholars—e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal,<sup>3</sup> Nāṣir b. *Ḥammān*<sup>4</sup> Yūsuf b. Saḍī,<sup>5</sup> Al-*Ḥushayr*,<sup>6</sup> and others—refused to agree with the views of the caliphal *Muḥannā*, and suffered imprisonment and hard punishment. "As a matter of fact intolerance towards the cruel rulers was a genuine principle with them." Consequently we find that few of the compiler of the works on *Ḥadīth* which are accepted by the Muslim world as standard and authoritative books on the subject and were compiled mainly under the Abbassids had been either in the employment of the caliphs or favourites of their court.

It is due to the continuous hard labour of these honest and scrupulous transmitters—the *Ṣaḥāb* of *Muḥannā*—have been saved from utter loss and have come down to us in the present form. During the very early period in the history of Islam when the Companions who had been the only custodians of *Ḥadīth* had settled down in different towns, they undertook long arduous journeys for their—then newly adopted—mission and with them as long as necessary, and collected together the knowledge which had been scattered by the Companions throughout the vast Islamic empire.

### TRAVELS IN QUEST OF KNOWLEDGE—Traditions

Long travels in quest of knowledge were recommended by Muḥannād himself in many of his sayings which are related by various independent authorities. Such traditions

(1) WA, No. 773.

(2) TdH, i, 183 ff.

(3) TK, i, 203-16.

(4) TdH, ii, 6 ff.

(5) *Ibid.* 161 ff.

(6) TH, vii, 62.

(7) JBI, i, 163-186.

are found in many important collections of *Hadith*. Some of the Companions themselves had undertaken long journeys either to learn a *Hadith* or to refresh their memory of it. Abū Ayyūb travelled from Madinah to Egypt just for the sake of refreshing his memory on a *Hadith* which he— together with ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr—had learnt from Muhammad himself.<sup>1</sup> Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh travelled for one whole month in order to hear from the lips of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayy only one *Hadith* which Jābir had already learnt through another person.<sup>2</sup> Another Companion went from Madinah to Damascus only for the purpose of hearing from the lips of Abū Dardā a *Hadith* which he had already received from him through one of his friends.<sup>3</sup>

The precepts of Muhammad and the example of his Companions stimulated the Followers and they spared no pains in their pursuit of knowledge *Hadith*. They travelled from place to place in order to gather the knowledge of as many *Hadith* as possible and returned home like bees laden with honey to impart the precious store they had accumulated to the crowd of their eager disciples.

Makbul (d. 112/730) travelled through Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Huzar and gathered the knowledge of all the *Akhadith* which he could get from such Companions as lived at these places.<sup>4</sup> He used to boast that for the sake of knowledge he had travelled round the world.<sup>5</sup> Sha‘bi (d. 104/722) said in reply to a question as to how he had gathered the knowledge of such a large number of *Akhadith*: “By hard work, long travels and great patience.”<sup>6</sup> He used to say that if for the sake of only one word of wisdom any one travelled from one end of Syria to the other end of al-Yaman, he (al-Sha‘bi) would not consider his journey

(1) JBI, i, 93-94.

(2) *Ibid.* 35.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) TdH, i, 95.

(5) TT, iv, No. 145.

(6) TdH, i, 71.

to have been undertaken in vain<sup>1</sup>. al-Masruq (d. 63-682) travelled so much for the sake of *Hadith* that he was known as *Abū al-Safar* 'the Traveller'. Sa'id b. al-Musayyib (d. 94-712) used to travel for days and nights in order to learn a single *Hadith*.<sup>2</sup>

By and by, long journeys in quest of knowledge became a fashion, and from the middle of the second century after the Hijra, the seekers for *Hadith* began to vie with one another in undertaking such journeys. 'From one end of the Muslim world to the other, from Andalus to Central Asia', says Goldziher, 'wandered the assiduous, indefatigable seekers of *Hadith*, and gathered traditions from every place in order to relate them to their listeners. This was the only possible method of collecting together in an authentic form the *Aḥadith* which were scattered in the various provinces. The honourable title of *al-Rihāl* 'the great traveller' or *al-Jawāl* 'the great wanderer' is seldom used with them in any other sense than what is generally understood by them. The title *Tamū al-Idḡām* 'the wanderer round the world' is no hyperbolic designation for the travellers among whom there were some such persons as could boast to have travelled four times throughout the East and the West'. 'They travelled throughout these countries', adds Goldziher, 'not for the sake of sight-seeing and gaining experience, but in order to meet the traditionists at these places, to hear traditions from and to profit by each of them—just like the bird that sits on a tree only to pick its leaves'.<sup>3</sup>

These seekers of *Hadith* gathered their knowledge from every source of which they were aware, and took from each source all that they could get out of it. This is apparent from the large number of teachers of some of them, and from the long time which some of them spent with some of their teachers. Abū Ishāq al-Sabīḥ (d. 126-443), for example, learnt *Hadith*

(1) JBI, I, 95.

(2) ISH, I, 46 ff.

(3) NIS, I, 177.



from 300-400 teachers.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak d. 181/797, from 1100,<sup>2</sup> Mālik b. Anas from 900.<sup>3</sup> Hishām b. 'Abd Allāh learnt from 1700 teachers.<sup>4</sup> Abū Nu'aym from 700<sup>5</sup> or 800, Ibn 'Asākir from 1300 traditionists.<sup>6</sup> al-Zuhri kept the company of Sa'id b. al-Musayyih for 10 years.<sup>7</sup> Hammād b. Zayd spent 20 years in the company of Ayyūb,<sup>8</sup> Rabi' b. Anas went frequently to Hasan Basri for the same period.<sup>9</sup> 'Amr b. Zayrā associated with Ibn 'Ulayya for 23 years.<sup>10</sup> Ibn Jarayj kept the company of 'Ata' for 18 years.<sup>11</sup> and Habbib b. Aslam studied *Hadith* with Mālik b. Anas for 40 years.<sup>12</sup>

Thus through the honest hard work and incredible, marvelous activity of the Followers and of the succeeding generations of Muslims were collected together the reports of the sayings and the doings of Muhammad which were scattered in all the various places or parts of the large dominions. The first organized attempt at their collection as we have seen was made about the end of the first century by the pious caliph, Umar b. Abd al-Aziz. The reports with regard to his activities in connection with the collection of *Hadith* are found in many important early works connected with the subject—e.g. the *Mu'atta* of Mālik,<sup>13</sup> the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī, and the *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd. These reports of course differ from one another in certain minor details. But the main facts are common among them all. The pious nature

(1) TA, 646.

(2) TdH, i, 255.

(3) TA, 353.

(4) TH, vii, 69.

(5) *Ibid*, v, 45.

(6) MU d, v, 140.

(7) TIS ii, 2, p. 131.

(8) TA, 218.

(9) *Ibid*, 210.

(10) TdH, i, 133.

(11) TdH, i, 111.

(12) See *supra* p. 91.

of the caliph and his religious enthusiasm as well as the personal atmosphere of his reign support the reports contained in these early works. Dr. Sprenger accepts this theory of the beginning of the collection of *Hadith*. But Goldziher and other German scholars doubt the reliability of these reports, but their arguments are not conclusive.<sup>1</sup>

Once begun, the collection of *Hadith* went up by leaps and bounds. Within two hundred years were compiled numerous important works in the *Hadith* literature, most of which were produced by honest and scrupulous scholars who had little to do with the political groups or sects, and less to do care for worldly gains. These scholars traced the lives and discussed the character of all the reporters of traditions and produced side by side with their collection of *Hadith* a vast literature on the reporters as an aid to the formal collection of *Hadith*. They discussed the comparative value of the reliability of *Isnad* and produced an extensive literature in the *Musnad* of forged traditions. They founded and extended various important branches of learning for the sake of the formal as well as material criticism of *Hadith*.

(1) MSr, II, 210-11.

## CHAPTER IV HADITH LITERATURE

### THE BEGINNINGS

The beginning of *Hadith* literature must be traced back to the letters, laws and treaties which were created by the Prophet of Islam himself, and were preserved by his time. In like manner, it must be traced to the numerous *Sahifas* which were compiled by the Companions and the Followers, to which reference has already been made in this work. Goldziher has mentioned several of these *Sahifas*. Horowitz is uncertain about the genuineness of the *Sahifas* ascribed to the Companions, but he has no doubt about the genuineness of those compiled by the Followers.

Already in the generation following that of the Companions of the prophet (*Ashab* or *Saḥāba*) that of the *Tabiʿūn*,<sup>1</sup> says he, "people began to collect the traditions of the sayings and doings of the Prophet which were current at the time. It did not take the *Tabiʿūn* of a number of the Companions of the Prophet recorded in *ṣaḥīḥ*, or in books (*kutub*) is partly of uncertain worth, still there can be no doubt that such written records were no longer a rarity in the generation of the *Tabiʿūn* who derived this knowledge from the Companions".<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of the *Sahifa* of Hammāmb Munaḥḥab which has been published by Dr. Hamūdullah shows the nature and the character of these *Ṣaḥīfa*. It proves that they were not mere memoranda as Goldziher suggests, but were complete records of some of the sayings of Muḥammad just like those found in the later collections of *Hadith*.

(1) MSr, ii, 9-11

(2) IC, vol. 1, p. 556

There existed some books in Arabic, however, even before the advent of Islam<sup>1</sup> which introduced a new spirit and fresh energy for the literary activities among the Arabs. It has already been proved that books were written on many branches of Arabic literature during the second half of the first century of the Islamic era. Abū ḥ Sharva wrote during the reign of Mu'āwiyā I a book on the pre-Islamic kings of Arabia<sup>2</sup> which enjoyed some popularity during the 10th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> Sufar b. al-Ablās, who lived during the reign of the same caliph, wrote a book on proverbs.<sup>4</sup> Theodorus, a physician in the court of al-Hajjāj, wrote some books on Medicine.<sup>5</sup> Abān collected according to Professor Herzynz materials for a book on *Maghāzī*.<sup>6</sup> 'Urwā b. al-Zuhayr, who died about the end of the first century of the Hijra, is said to have written a book on the said subject. "Although nowhere in the older sources", says Herzynz,<sup>7</sup> "it is said that 'Urwā composed an actual book on the *Maghāzī* it is nonetheless certain that he collected and set forth a series of the most important events in the Prophet's life. The same collector of *Maghāzī* also compiled some books on *Fiqh* which he burnt on the day of the battle of Hira'.<sup>8</sup> How, then, could the Muslims of those by-gone days have neglected the collection of *Ḥadīth*, which had been accepted by them since the life-time of the Prophet as an authority next to the Qur'an for all their religious and social problems.

(1) MSU, 201520. (ASB xxx, 25)

(2) FN, 89.

(3) LHA, 13. It is surprising that Majedotti does not mention even the name of this author in ACH.

(4) FN, 90.

(5) *Ibid.* For the Arabic medical work of this period see SAP.

(6) LC, i, 336-39.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) TIS, v, 133.



The early sources of *Hadith*, however, fall into three distinct groups — First, the books on *Mağlâṭ* or *Sīrat*, like those of Ibn Ishāq and others, in which are found most of the historical *Hadith*. Second, the books on *Fiqh*, like the *Muwattaʿ* of Imam Mālik and the *Kitāb al-Umm* of al-Shāfiʿī, in which are found a large number of legal *Hadith*. Third, the works in which *Hadith* as such have been collected. It is with some of these works and their authors that we propose to deal in this chapter.

#### MANY OF THE MUSNADS ASCRIBED TO EARLY AUTHORS WERE COMPILED LONG AFTER THEM

Of all the various classes of *Hadith* works which have been described earlier, the *Musnads* appear to be the earliest in origin. But many of them which are generally ascribed to some of the early authorities on *Hadith* were in fact compiled by some of the later traditionists who collected together such *Hadith* as were related to them by, or on the authority of, any one important *rāwī*. Such are the *Musnads* of Abū Hanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and some others, none of whom is known to have compiled any *Musnad* work. The *Musnad* which is generally known as that of Abū Hanīfa was compiled by Abū al-Muʿayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥmūd al-Khwārizmī (d. 665/1257).<sup>1</sup> The *Musnad* of al-Shāfiʿī was compiled on the basis of his *Kitāb al-Umm* and *al-Mabʿūṭ* by Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Asammī (d. 246/860).<sup>2</sup> The work known as the *Musnad* of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was compiled by al-Bāghandī<sup>3</sup> (d. 282/895). The *Musnad* of Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālisī also, which is considered to be the earliest *Musnad* work received by us,<sup>4</sup> had not been compiled in its present form by al-Ṭayālisī himself, but by a certain traditionist of Khurāsān at a later date.<sup>5</sup>

(1) KZ, v, 535-36.

(2) *Ibid.* 540-41. Also see Illustration No. 1.

(3) JASB, xx, 391-458, A.H. Harley, "The *Musnad* of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz", intro.

(4) MAT, title page.

(5) KZ, v, 533, "The *Musnad* of Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālisī".



## THE MUṢNAḌ OF ABU DAWūd AL-JANĀDĪ

A valuable and important manuscript of this work is preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Paris and has been fully indexed by M. Louis Adolphe Harmer in the catalogue of the MSS of *Hadith* works in the O.P. Library at Boulogne.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of this manuscript has been printed the Hyderabad edition of the *MuṣnaḌ* by the Dār al-Ma'ārif of Hyderabad.

*The Author.*—Abū Dawūd Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. Aḥmad al-Jaḥḍī, when the *MuṣnaḌ* is generally referred to as of Persian origin. He was born in the year 165 of the Hijra. He studied traditions with more than thirty teachers, amongst his more important ones being those prominent figures, e.g. Shāhib al-traditions related by whom al-Jaḥḍī seems to have specialized. Sufyān al-Thawrī and others. He had a sharp retentive memory, and is reported to have related 40,000 traditions without using any notes. During his lifetime he was accepted as an authority on *Hadith* in general and as a specialist in the long *Ḥadīth* in particular. The students of traditions flocked round him from every part of the Muslim world. His teacher Shāhib al-Thawrī has related him to say certain traditions with some variations, confessed that he himself could not do better. Strict traditionists like Abū Ḥabīb al-Himbalī and Abū al-Madīnī respected his authority and related traditions from him. But he has been criticised by some traditionists. The majority of them, however, attribute his mistakes to the slips of his memory. He contracted *euphantasia* on account of his excessive exertion at Boulogne *mārida* and died in the year 203/813 at the age of 70.<sup>2</sup>

*The MuṣnaḌ.*—In the present printed edition, this work comprises 127 traditions which are related by 261 Companions whose narratives are given under their names, which are arranged in the order of the first four caliphs, in the rest

<sup>1</sup> O.P. Lib. Cat. 1. 1. 62.

<sup>2</sup> H. N. 6. 1. 11. 32.

of the Badriyūn, vi the Muhājirūn, vii the Anṣār, viii the women; and ix the youngest Companions.

The printed text of the *Musnad* as well as its Patrist MS appears to be incomplete. The traditions related by 'Abbās b. al-Muttalib, al-Fadl b. 'Abbās, Abū 'Alīyah b. Jafar, Kubā b. Misk, Salīm b. al-Akwa', Saḥ b. Saḥ, Mu'awiyah b. Abī Sulaymān, and 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs, &c. which have been made on other pages, are entirely missing from the body of the book. Some of the traditions related by 'Umar have also been misplaced.<sup>1</sup>

al-Fayāsiḥ, however, to whom the *Musnad* is generally ascribed, had neither compiled it nor arranged it in its present form. It is the work of his student, Yunus b. Halab, who collected together the traditions which he had received from Abū Dā'ūd al-Fayāsiḥ and arranged them in the form of the present *Musnad*. "It was some of the traditionalists of Khirāsān, says Hāji Khulifā,<sup>2</sup> 'who collected together the traditions which were related by Yūsuf. Yunus b. Halab from Abū Dā'ūd'." Hāji Khulifā is right in denying that the *Musnad* was compiled by al-Fayāsiḥ himself, but he seems to be wrong in attributing it to the students of Yūsuf. The internal evidence shows that Yunus himself was the compiler of the *Musnad*.<sup>3</sup>

Whoever be the compiler of the *Musnad*, its text clearly shows that he as well as the authorities from whom he received the traditions had been careful in handling them. Whatever there is any doubt in the text of a tradition, it has been pointed out. In some cases, various possible readings of certain expressions used in a tradition have been given, in some cases, certain explanatory phrases have been added. Care having been taken that these additions might not be mistaken for a

(1) MAT, pp. 20-21.

(2) KZ, v, 333; cf. FM, 34.

(3) For all the parts of the book have been placed on the common authority.

part of the text itself.<sup>1</sup> In some cases it has been pointed out that some of the authorities had doubts with regard to a part of the text.<sup>2</sup> But that they cleared it by referring to some other authorities of their own time.<sup>3</sup> If a tradition has been received through more than one source, the fact has been pointed out at the end of the tradition. In some cases where the identity of a narrator had been doubtful because more than one narrator bore the same name, it has been made to establish his identity.<sup>4</sup> In some cases the character of some of the authorities also has been mentioned.<sup>5</sup> Certain traditions are related from narrators of unknown identity.<sup>6</sup> In some cases it has been pointed out that the tradition had been carried back to the Prophet by some narrators, and was stopped at a *Sahab* by others.<sup>7</sup>

The subject-matters of the traditions contained in the *Muwat* are as varied and numerous as those of any other collection of *Hadith*. But those relating to Miracles, personal or special virtues of the Companions, and prophecies with regard to future events or sects in Islam are very few.

The book appears to have enjoyed great popularity till the eighth century of the Hira. The Patna manuscript alone bears the names of more than 30 male and female students of *Hadith*, who had read it at different periods. Among them are found the names of such eminent traditionists as al-Dhahabi, al-Mizzi and others.<sup>8</sup> After the eighth century, it lost its popularity—so much so that now its manuscript has become extremely rare.

1. *MAT*, Nos. 77, 24, 26, 27, 424, 430, 438, 474, etc.

(2) *Ibid.* Nos. 1021, etc.

3. *Ibid.* Nos. 333, 614, 837, 846, 892, 917, 938, etc.

(4) *Ibid.* Nos. 381, etc.

5. *Ibid.* Nos. 43, 116, 2234, etc.

6. *Ibid.* Nos. 706, 1524, etc.

7. *Ibid.* Nos. 794, etc.

(8) *OPC*, v. 1, pp. 157-62.

## THE MUSNAD OF IMAM AHMAD b. HANBAL

The most important and exhaustive of all the *Musnad* works which we have received is that of Imām Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal al-Marwazi al-Shaybānī. His remarkably saintly, selfless life and his firm stand for his own conviction against the tyrannical inquisition and persecution started by al-Ma'mūn and continued in accordance with his will by al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil created a halo of sanctity round his great collection of traditions. In spite of its great bulk, it survived the vicissitudes of time and was printed at Cairo in 1896.<sup>1</sup>

*Life of Ahmad b. Hanbal.* Imām Ahmad, as his *nebo* shows, descended from the great Shaybānī tribe of the Arabs. The members of this tribe had taken an important part in the early conquest of Iraq and Khurasan by the Arabs, and in the civil wars between the Hashimites and the Umayyads as partisans of the former. Ibn al-Haytham, a Shaybānī chief at Kufa, was the first in that town to call people to 'Alī's side. Husayn the Shaybānī was the standard-bearer of the tribe of Rabi'a at the battle of Siffin, and 'Alī wrote some appreciative verses in his praise.<sup>2</sup> Khālid b. al-Ma'mar, also a Shaybānī, had taken a leading part on behalf of 'Alī in the same battle.<sup>3</sup> The sympathy of the Shaybānī's for the Banū Hashim seems to have continued even after the Ummayyads were well-established on the throne. Khālid b. Ibrāhīm Abū Dā'ūd,

(1) Two later editions of this voluminous book have been published in Egypt, one by al-Basma and the other by Stākīr. The former has not been available to me. But the latter edition (Egypt, vol. 1, 1954-57) is most carefully in which the learned editor has taken great pains to put together all the available material with regard to the life of the author from various sources. Stākīr has given the number of each *ḥadīth*, and has added at the end of each volume several highly useful indices. Unfortunately this editor passed away after he had published only 16 volumes. His death is a great loss to the world of scholarship.

(2) JA, 320. These references are to my own MS. of the book. Its printed edition has not been available to me.

(3) *Ibid.* — — — — —

who succeeded Abū Ma'mūn as a governor of Khurasan, had been a friend of the *Umayyad* and a hostile *Umayyad*.<sup>1</sup> One Haysa, the poet, also, who is mentioned by al-Dawānirī as one of the important early Abbasid propagandists in Khurasan,<sup>2</sup> may be the same Haysa who is mentioned among the friends of Ahmad b. Hanbal. One of Ahmad's teachers was also a general of Khurasan who, according to Pines, fought to overthrow the *Umayyads* and to replace them by the *Abbasids*.<sup>3</sup>

Ahmad himself was born in Baghdad in 164 A.H. There he was brought up by his mother, his father having died during Ahmad's infancy. There he received his early education with a view to the law and began the study of *Hadith* at the age of 15 with Ibrahim b. Umayr.<sup>4</sup> Having completed his studies of *Hadith* with all the traditionalists of Baghdad he went on his journey in search of 'Knowledge' in the year 183 A.H. He wandered through Basra, Kufa, Yaman, the Hijaz and other centres of *Hadith* learning, staying in the areas of the traditionalists taking notes of them, and bringing them with the important traditions and the following books and returned to Baghdad later with the possession of 'Knowledge' about the year 195 when he met Ahmad al-Sadiki and studied with him *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* and *Fiqh*.<sup>5</sup>

Ahmad b. Hanbal appears to have assumed the role of a collector of traditions at an early age. It is said that a large number of students flocked round him in order to hear his lectures on *Hadith* in a mosque in Baghdad in the year 199 when he went there for a short time.<sup>6</sup> He made, however, the service and the teaching of traditions the sole object and mission of his life, and continued it quietly and peacefully

(1) JA, 321, ATb, II, 1358.

(2) AT, 335.

(3) AHM, 10.

(4) FT, I, No. 126; Sh, No. 13.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.* loc. cit.

til the year 218-844 when there arose a storm of persecution of the theologians throughout the Abbasid caliphate.

*The Persecution.* The caliph al-Mā'mūn accepted under the influence of his philosophic associates the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. He urged the Muslim theologians and traditionists to accept this doctrine. Some accepted it, others rejected it. Threats succeeded with a few more, and persecution with a few others. But a few important traditionists, including Ahmad, refused to yield. The caliph, who was then at Lyons, ordered that they should be put in chains and sent to him. The orders were carried out. But the caliph himself died before the prisoners had reached their destination. His death, however, was of no avail to the unfortunate prisoners. For Mā'mūn had made a will wherein he asked his successors to carry out his wishes with regard to the propagation of the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. His two immediate successors, al-Mu'tazz and al-Wāthiq, carried out his will with force and vigour and did not fail to use torture and persecution in order to achieve their end. This *Mihna* persecution was continued with varying vigour till the third year of the reign of al-Mutawakkil who stopped it in the year 244-848.

The great personality of al-Mā'mūn and the glamour of his court secured the conversion of the great mass of Muslim theologians to his views. Even such great traditionists as Yahya b. Ma'in and 'Alī b. al-Madini took refuge behind the thin veil of *Taqiyya* 'disguise' and surrendered their souls to the sword. It was Ahmad b. Hanbal who at this serious juncture proved to be the saviour of Orthodoxy and Freedom of Conscience and Faith in Islam. He refused to submit to the dictate of the caliph against his own conscience and stood firm like a rock. He tried to show the fallacies in the false reasoning of his opponents at the discussions, and he refused to yield to their show of force and threats, and boldly and patiently endured their persecutions. He was kept in prison for eighteen months, he was whipped by 150 executioners one after another,



his wrist was broken, he was badly wounded, and he lost consciousness. But he kept the purity of his conscience, and came out of the trial with the greatest credit. Badr b. al-Harith rightly said that God had cast Ahmad b. Hanbal into the fire who came out of it like pure gold. More creditable for Ahmad than his firmness in the face of trial, however, was his unexampled generosity towards his enemies and persecutors against none of whom he showed any ill will. Even against Ahmad b. Abi Du'ail, who had taken the most prominent part against him in his *Mihna*, he scrupulously abstained from expressing any opinion.<sup>1</sup>

After the *Mihna* Ahmad lived for about 8 years. A greater part of this period he is said to have devoted to teaching.<sup>2</sup> The rest he spent in prayers. He died in the year 241 at the age of 67. A wonderful scene of sorrow and grief followed. Not only over the whole of the great metropolis, but also over distant places, was cast a gloom of melancholy. His funeral was attended by a large crowd estimated to be between 20,000 and 25,000. It was something "the like of which you have seldom been witnessed anywhere."<sup>3</sup>

Throughout his life Ahmad bore an exemplary character. For money, which is a great source of corruption, he had little love. He always refused pecuniary help, and, as well as small, from the rich princes as well as from poor associates and friends.<sup>4</sup> He cut off his connection with his sons, Saïd and 'Abd Al'al, because they had accepted stipends from the caliph.<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact, he lived frugally,<sup>6</sup> and his needs were few, which he always met by means of what he himself earned. Though in his religious beliefs he was extremely firm and strong, yet by nature he was very gentle, and was anxious

(1) TK, I, 203, AHM, 108, 112, 145.

(2) AHM, 142.

(3) TK, I, 203-204; AHM, 172.

(4) AHM, 14, 141, 147 etc.

(5) *Ibid.* 150.

(6) *Ibid.* 144.

not to do any harm to any one'.<sup>1</sup> Honesty and justice were the most remarkable elements of his character.

Ahmad's vast and profound knowledge of the traditions, his strictly pious and settled life, his strong character, his firm and courageous stand for Orthodoxy against the persecution by the caliphs, his complete indifference to the court and the courtiers, and his forceful and inspiring personality established his reputation as an Imam and as the greatest authority on *Hadith* in the whole Islamic world.<sup>2</sup> His personality in his life-time and after his death", says Patton, 'was a great force in the Muslim world and it seems yet to be as powerful in its influence as the principles which he enunciated'.<sup>3</sup> Even today his memory stands as a symbol of orthodoxy, and is a source of inspiration to the Muslim world.

Ahmad devoted the whole of his life except the last few years to the service of *Hadith*, learning it with the renowned traditionists of his time, spreading it through the large crowd of his students, throughout the length and breadth of the Muslim world, and writing on its basis and on that of the Qur'ân books on various theological problems. Thirteen of these books are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim in his *Fihrist*,<sup>4</sup> and some others, e.g. *Kitab al-salât*, have been published in his name.

*The Musnad* The most important of Ahmad's works is his *Musnad* which contains the largest number of *Ahadith* that has been received by us and which may aptly be called his *opus magnum*. The period of compilation of this work is not known. But from the nature as well as the contents of the work itself it is clear that it must have occupied the compiler's mind for a long time.

Ahmad's main object in compiling this huge book was to collect together neither all the strictly genuine traditions nor

(1) AHM, 152.

(2) TT, i, No. 1261; TA, 142-45.

(3) AHM, 194.

(4) FN, 220.

all those relating to any particular subject or supporting any particular view of it or in Islam have put together all such traditions of the Prophet — and his Companions — were likely to prove accurate if put together and could therefore for the time being serve as a basis for comment. The text, as we noted, in the *Maʿad* is correct, Ahmad is reported to have said.<sup>1</sup> But he never claimed that it included was genuine or reliable. On the contrary, he struck off many traditions from his book — even when he was in the doubt — he struck them out of all *Hadith* from the *Maʿad* which does not have a sound record of the authenticity of the words content of the work.

In order to achieve his end Ahmad compiled his own vast store of knowledge as well as the whole available literature on the subject.<sup>2</sup> He cited 3,700 traditions out of 700,000 of the narrators. His 700 Companions relate to widely varied subjects viz. *Maqāṭ*, *Manāṭ*, Rituals, Laws, Preparation, etc.<sup>3</sup> He never read out the various parts of his notes to his students — and then to his sons and nephew in 13 years.<sup>4</sup> He wanted to put his notes together in the form of a *Maʿad*. But death overtook him and consequently the heavy task of arranging the vast material collected by Ahmad, was left to his son. And Aḥmad who edited the notes of his father.<sup>5</sup>

Ahmad had not been strict in the choice of his materials and authorities. He included in his notes even such matters as could by no means be within the scope of traditions. Many of the traditions contained in his *Maʿad* are declared by the

(1) TK, i, 202.

(2) *Ibid.* 203.

(3) MAH, i, 308, iv, 269.

(4) FN 2, 9. But Ahmad says: *Isnād Naḥw al-Maʿad al-ḥaṣṣa wa-l-ḥaṣṣa* (the *Maʿad* is the *ḥaṣṣa* and the *ḥaṣṣa* is the *Maʿad*).

(5) TK, i, 202; ZDMG, L, 472 fn.

(6) BM, 31.

tradition is of later date as *basar* and *manḍū* forged<sup>1</sup> and many of the narrators relied upon by Ahmad are declared by the authorities on *Amā' al-Riyāl* as unreliable.

In this huge collection of *Ḥadīth* Ahmad b. Hanbal followed the same scrupulous and meticulous reporting traditions from his own collection of whatever value they were as he had shown in his normal life and career. If he received off-hand from more than one narrator, he pointed out such a difference that existed between their reports. For instance, in a *Ḥadīth* reported to him by Wake' and by Abū Abūwā, the former used the word *laḥm* and the latter used the word *ḥamr* with difference. Ahmad b. Hanbal did not fail to point out explicitly.<sup>2</sup> In another *Ḥadīth*, two earlier *Riwayat* differed in the use of *ḥ* and *ḥā*, Ahmad recorded the difference and gave the two versions which were handed down to him.<sup>3</sup> In another *Ḥadīth* the difference in the use of *ḥ* and *ḥā* is pointed out.<sup>4</sup> If the same narrator reported the same *Ḥadīth* with certain differences it was also pointed out by Ahmad. In a *Ḥadīth* narrated by Yazid b. Harun the change in his narration from *ḥadīth* to *ḥadīth* was noted.<sup>5</sup> If the exactitude is shown in some other instances also.<sup>6</sup> If any correction or amendment in the text or in the *ḥadīth* was suggested to Ahmad b. Hanbal he did not fail to make the necessary changes in his manuscript.

Ahmad's son Abū Abīd al-Ruhmān Abī Allāh continued the scrupulous care and thoroughness of his father in editing the materials collected by him. He edited the whole of the large but incomplete manuscript of his father with his own notes, which he had taken at his and other traditionists' lectures.

(1) *Ziṃm*, I, 100-101.

(2) *MAH*, I, 27-28.

(3) *Ibid.* III, 20.

(4) *Ibid.* VI, 101.

(5) *Ibid.* III, 201.

(6) *Ibid.* I, 308, III, 33; V, 352, 385.

(7) *Ibid.* II, 184; VI, 420.

he also collated it with what he had learnt from him and others during conversations and general discussions with them.<sup>1</sup>

In case of such *that* *th* as 'Abd. Abūh had heard from his father, but which had been struck off from the manuscript, 'Abd. Allih pointed out in his notes the change that was made in the manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Where he found a slip of the pen in the manuscript of his father, he corrected it and reproduced the original in his notes; in some cases, he only pointed out that there was some mistake in the text.<sup>3</sup> Where he had any doubt about the text of the manuscript, he frankly expressed his doubt.<sup>4</sup> In some cases, he added<sup>5</sup> explanatory notes as well as numerous *that* *th* taken from sources other than the manuscript he had been editing.<sup>6</sup> In all these cases he took great care that his own additions might not be mistaken by the reader as parts of the manuscript itself. As a matter of fact, he appears to have taken great care to keep up the text of the manuscript as exact as possible. He reproduced the words written in the original manuscript in separate letters not joined together *al-muṣṭallaṭ*, and added a note saying: 'So was it written in the manuscript of my father, but when he read it to us, he pronounced it as one word'.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, 'Abd. Abūh has been criticised by an eminent Indian traditionist of the last century, who says that the editor 'Abd. Abūh of Ahmad b. Hanbal's *Muṣnad* has committed many mistakes in arranging and

(1) He is not to be understood as saying that he collated it with his father. MAH, i, 17. In some places, when he says that he found this or the manuscript of his father, it is to be understood that he found it in the original. In a number of instances, he says that he found it in the manuscript and a certain number of copies, but did not make a note of it. (iv, 106).

(2) MAH, iii, 182, iv, 96; v, 26.

(3) *Ibid.* i, 252; ii, 449; iii, 15; iv, 2; v, 2; vi, 73.

(4) *Ibid.* v, 358.

(5) *Ibid.* 336.

(6) *Ibid.* v, 326; vi, 326.

(7) *Ibid.* iv, 91.

editing the work, and has included the narrations of the Madinites in the *mustad* of the Syrians and those of the Syrians in that of the Madinites.<sup>1</sup>

Abūmad's *Musnad*, however, occupied an important position in the *Hadith* literature and served as an important source for various writers on different subjects in Arabic literature. "Among the *Musnad* works", says Goldziher, "the *Musnad* of Abūmad b. Hāshim occupies the most stable position. The great esteem enjoyed by his memory in the post-*ḥadīth* world of Islam, the piety which followed his name and which for a long time served as a magic word against the most notorious adversary belonging to the Mu'tazilī school, and stood as a symbol of Orthodoxy, saved his collection of *Hadith* from complete literary fall from which most of the works of its type have suffered. It maintained its position in literature also for a long time as a source for important works and compilations."<sup>2</sup>

Of the numerous scholars and authors who used the *Musnad* as a subject for their commentary or adaptations or as a source for their own works or compilations, some may be mentioned here. Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Wāḥid d. 415 *revised* the book and added certain supplementary traditions to it.<sup>3</sup> al-Bāwari, the lexicographer d. 499/1155 based his *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* entirely on this book.<sup>4</sup> Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athir d. 630/1234 used it as one of his sources for his biographical dictionary, the *ʿUd al-Ghātā*.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1505) included it among the important works of which he prepared the *Atrāf*.<sup>6</sup> Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥsin (d. 805/1402) made a synopsis of it. al-Suyūṭī d. 911/1505 based upon it his grammatical treatise, *ʿUqūd al-Zahra*,<sup>7</sup>

(1) BML, 31.

(2) ZDMG, L, 466.

(3) KZ, v, 534-35.

(4) MUd, vi, 29.

(5) See UGh, i, 9-11.

(6) TH, xxiv, No. 12.

(7) KZ, v, 535.



Abū al-Ḥusayn Umar b. al-Ḥaṣṣ al-Sakābī (d. 1139/1726) wrote a large commentary on the *Zaḥid* by Umar b. al-Aḥmad Saḥṣānī. But he never copied it, which he admitted. *Al-Muḥṣan* by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abū al-Ḥusayn did it, arranging the traditions in the alphabetical order of the names of their original *Riway*.<sup>2</sup> Neither Umar b. al-Zaḥī nor Umar b. al-Ḥaṣṣ compiled together all the traditions contained in it as were not found in the six canonical collections.<sup>3</sup>

The *Muḥṣan* not only serves as a large mine of materials for Muslim theologians and Arabic lexicography, but also because of the pains personally of its compiler it had gathered a host of serious commentaries. This is shown by the fact that in the thirteenth century a series of pious traditionalists read it by rote and in its entirety before the tomb of the Prophet in Madinah.<sup>4</sup>

It appears, however, that on account of its large bulk and because of the compilation of many better planned and more precise works in *Ḥadīth* literature during the third and the fourth centuries of the Hijra, the *Muḥṣan* of Abū al-Ḥaṣṣ grew less and less popular, and its copies became more and more scarce, so early as the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra al-Muzani, one of the leading traditionalists of the time, was surprised to learn from one of the students of *Ḥadīth* that he had read 150 parts of the book with Abū Bakr b. Mālik. Muzani recalled that when he himself was a student in Mesopotamia, they used to be surprised to find even one part of the *Muḥṣan* with any traditionalist.<sup>5</sup> The scarcity of its manuscripts in the modern times, therefore, is, as Goldziher has pointed out, not a matter of surprise.

(1) KZ, v, 534-35.

(2) ZDMG, I, 470.

<sup>3</sup> FM, 133.

<sup>4</sup> FI, 'Abū al-Ḥusayn Muhammad b. Ḥaṣṣān'.  
ZDMG, I, 467.

Like Ahmad b. Hanbal and Abu Dawūd, Ishaq and many other traditionists also compiled *Muṣannaf* works on the same lines with certain differences in the degree of their rigour. These include Abū Muḥammad al-Lithamī d. 219 H (d. 835), Abū Usayb al-Maḥallī d. 220 H (d. 835), Abū Aḥmad al-Shaybānī d. 235 H (d. 850), Ibn Rāḥawayh d. 240 H (d. 854), and al-Lu'ay'.

### THE MUṢANNAF WORKS

More important than the *Muṣannaf* is the *Muṣṭafā* work in *Hadith* literature. To this belong the less important important works on the subject such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Tirmidhī and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Dāḥiqī like those of Nisā'i, Abū Dāwūd and others. The *Muṣannaf* as we have seen may be either *Ṣaḥīḥ* like the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and the book of al-Lithamī or of *Ṣaḥīḥ* like the work of Abū Dāwūd, al-Shaybānī, Nisā'i and others.

The early *Muṣannaf* works are almost unknown. The *Muṣannaf* of Waki' is known to us only through a reference made to it in later works.<sup>1</sup> The earliest *Muṣannaf* work, incomplete manuscripts of which are still extant is the *Muṣannaf* of Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Humayr. (162-241/273-350) of Ṣan'ā in Arabia.<sup>2</sup>

'Abd al-Razzāq began the study of *Hadith* at the age of 20 kept the company of Māmar for 7 years, and learnt *Hadith* from him and Ibn Jarir and other leading traditionists of the day. He became one of the important narrators of traditions of his own time. Many of the recognized authorities of a later date sat at his feet and acquired knowledge from him. Traditionists like Yahya b. Ma'in and Ahmad b. Hanbal related traditions from him. It is said that after the death of the Prophet people never travelled in such a large number to meet any one as to meet 'Abd al-Razzāq.<sup>3</sup> He has been

(1) KZ, v, 332-333.

(2) MNI, i, 396. It is probable that this was the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Waki' d. 192 H (d. 807) which came to al-Bukhārī, Nisā'i, etc.

(3) MIB, 159.

(4) WA, No. 409. \*

declared as unreliable by some, others, but others considered him trustworthy.<sup>3</sup>

Two of his works are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm.<sup>4</sup> One of them, the *Kitāb al-Mawāḥiṣ*, is identical with what is generally known as the *Mawāḥiṣ* of Ibn Kullāb.<sup>5</sup> This mentioned his other works also.<sup>6</sup> His *Mawāḥiṣ*, however, is divided like books of *Ḥadīth* into various books in which various traditions are arranged according to their content. The last chapter of the work is on *Ḥadīth al-Nabī* and the last tradition is about the Prophet's Farewell Message. More extensive than this *Mawāḥiṣ* is that of Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Abī Mādh b. Abī Shabīb al-Qurayshī. His grandfather worked as a judge at Wasat during the reign of Muḥarrir, and his family produced great traditionists.<sup>7</sup> He himself had the credit of relating traditions to prominent traditionists like Abū Zarrā, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Muhajir and Ahmad b. Ḥubāb (who is said to have declared him unreliable).<sup>8</sup>

### ŠAHĪḤ AL-BUKHĀRĪ

The most important of not only all the *Muḥannaḥ* but of all the works in *Ḥadīth* literature is the *al-Jamʿ al-Šāḥiḥ* of Abū Bakr. His workshop was frequented more than 1000 masters of *Ḥadīth* who lived in places so distant from one another as Balkh, Merv, Nisāpūr, the Haur of Egypt and Mesopotamia. al-Bukhārī sought aid of prayers before recording tradition, and verified every word that he wrote with scrupulous exactitude. He devoted more than one-fourth of his life to the actual compilation for work, and at the end produced his epoch-making book which is accepted by most of the traditionists as the most authentic work in *Ḥadīth* literature,

311.

4 X, 106.

5 Z, 1, 2, 3.

6 *Ḥadīth al-Muḥannaḥ*, 10.

7 Y, 1, 1.

8 KAS, 1, 1, 1.

9 *Al-Ḥadīth* "Abū Mādh b. Muhammad", 4.

and which is considered by the Muslims to general as an authority next only to the *Qur'an*.

al-Bukhārī whose full name is Abū Abī Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Bukhārī was of Persian origin. He was born at Būkhārā in the year 194-201. His mother, Barzakh, was a cultivator in the vicinity of Bukhārā who had been made a slave at the time of the Muslim conquest of Māverān, the son of Barzakh accepted Islam on the head of al-Yaman al-Jufī the Muslim governor of Bukhārā thus he gained his freedom as well as his mother as al-Jufī. About Iḥṣān Iḥṣām the grand father of our author we have received the information. But Iḥṣām's son, Ismā'il the father of our author was a traditionalist of great piety and sound reputation. He is said to have boasted at his death that in all that he possessed there was not a penny that had not been earned by honest labour.<sup>2</sup>

Ismā'il died leaving considerable fortune to his widow and two sons, Ahmad and Muḥammad the latter being only an infant at the time of his death. This infant child who was destined to play an important part in the development of *Hadith* literature was endowed by nature with strong intellectual powers, although he was of weak physique. He possessed a sharp and retentive memory, great intelligence, and tenacity of purpose. He had inexhaustible energy and a great capacity for hard methodical work.

al-Bukhārī began his educational career under the guidance of his mother in his native town Bukhārā. Having mastered his elementary studies at the young age of eleven, he took to the study of *Hadith*. Within six years he mastered the knowledge of all the traditions of his native city as well as that contained in the then available works on the subject. Then he went to Mecca with his mother and brother in order to perform the Pilgrimage. From there he started on his

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbalī *al-Fatāwā* 2: 100-101; al-Bukhārī *al-Jāmi'* 1: 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>2</sup> *IS* 1: 10.

journey in search of *Hadith*. His travels took him through a large part of the New world, and he visited all the important centres of Islamic learning, stopping everywhere asking as his part of *Hadith*. He used to meet at the traditionalists, learning from them all that they knew, and related independently to them his own knowledge. He did not hesitate to stay at one place and thus he passed his many years. Nor did he hesitate to undertake more than one journey to a place if it was demanded by his literary pursuit. He stayed at Isfahān for four or five years, and in a *Bagh* for six years, and he travelled to *Hamadan*, and to *Kashan* and *Rehshad* times and times over.<sup>1</sup>

at *Rehshad*. He continued to remain there for about 40 years. In the year 250 A.H. he came to *Nasapur*, which gave him a great reputation, visible to a traditionist of established reputation in the country. Here he devoted himself to the teaching of *Hadith*, and wanted to settle down. But he had to leave the town on account of the rivalry of *Abdullah b. Yusuf al-Dhulfi* at the command of *Ka'ab b. Arafat al-Dhulfi*, whose request to deliver lectures on *Hadith* in his place was not accepted by *Abu Bakr*. From *Nasapur* he went to *Khartank*, a place near *Samarqand*, at the request of its inhabitants. Here he settled down, and died in the year 256-870.

Throughout his life, *Abu Bakr*'s character was consistent, honest and amiable, which might serve as an example to the lovers of learning. He was extremely strict in the observance of his religious duties. He always lived on what he earned by means of trade, in which he was scrupulously honest. Once he lost 10,000 *dirhams* on account of mere scruple. He spent a good deal of his own money in helping the students and the poor. He never showed temper to any one, even when there was sufficient cause for it, nor did he bear ill will against any body. Even against *Muhammad b. Yahya*, who had caused his exile from *Nasapur*, he did not harbour any grudge.<sup>2</sup>

*Hadith* was al-Bukhārī's only interest. For it he spared no pains, and for it he sacrificed almost everything. On it he spent almost all that he earned. To it he devoted his whole life. On account of it he spent the largest part of his life in travelling, and in one of his travels he was on camels and horses for three days. The only recreation he enjoyed was archery, in which he had acquired great skill. His amanuensis was lived with him for a considerable time, say that al-Bukhārī often went out shooting arrows, say twice during his stay with al-Bukhārī did this man see him miss the mark.<sup>1</sup>

Since the very beginning of his career, al-Bukhārī showed the signs of greatness as a traditionist. He pointed out a mistake of one of his teachers when he was a mere boy of eleven. The teacher laughed at the audacity of the young student. But al-Bukhārī persisted in his correction, and challenged his teacher to refer to his book which justified his contention of al-Bukhārī.<sup>2</sup> When he was still a boy without any visible signs of manhood, he was entreated by a large crowd of the students of *Hadith* to deliver lectures on the subject. The learned youth accepted their request. A large number of the seekers of *Hadith* flocked together in a mosque and they accepted the traditions related by him, on his authority.<sup>3</sup> Once when he visited Basra, his arrival was notified to the people and a day was fixed for his lecture. At this lecture he narrated only such traditions as he had received on the authority of the early traditionists of this very centre of Islamic learning, and had been unknown to this audience.<sup>4</sup>

Many a time was al-Bukhārī's vast learning severely tested in various ways. He was always remarkably successful at these difficult trials. At Baghdad ten of the traditionists changed the *Isnads* and the contents of a hundred traditions, recited them to al-Bukhārī at a public meeting and asked him questions about them. al-Bukhārī confessed his ignorance

(1) MFB, 566.

(2) TK, ii, 4.

(3) TA, 90.

(4) TK, ii, 6.





considered by the Muslims generally as an authority next only to the Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup> It is used by some Muslims as a charm to overcome evil and the possession of its copy has been regarded as a proof against demonic forces.<sup>2</sup>

The *Sahih* may be said to be Bukhārī's life work. His earlier treatise served him as a preparation for his greatest work, and his later books were essentially extensions of it. It was the *Sahih* that he devoted his greatest time and attention and in the actual compilation of it he spent about one fourth of his life.<sup>3</sup>

al-Bukhārī's idea to compile the *Sahih* owed its origin to the casual remark of Ishaq b. Rāwiyah (d. 235/850) that he wished that some of the traditionalists would compile a short comprehensive book containing the greatest traditions only. These words caught the imagination of al-Bukhārī. He began to work on it with the greatest zeal and scruple ever shown by any author. He explored all the traditions known to him, tested their genuineness according to the canons of criticism promulgated by himself, picked up 25,000 out of 60,000 of them, arranged them according to their subject-matter under separate headings generally taken from the Qur'ān and in some cases from the traditions themselves.

al-Bukhārī has nowhere mentioned what canons of criticism he applied to the traditions in order to test their genuineness, nor has he told us what were his aims in compiling the book. But many Muslim doctors have tried to infer these things by an objective study of the book itself. al-Hāzimi in his *Shirāt al-Ṭahhā*, al-Hajj in his *Alfah* and Ayni and al-Qastallāni in their introductions to their commentaries on the *Sahih* and many other writers on the *Ḍum al-Hadith* (e.g. Ibn Salām) have tried to infer the principles followed by al-Bukhārī in his selection of traditions.

<sup>1</sup> IS I, 330-36.

<sup>2</sup> EI, 93.

<sup>3</sup> IA, 9-11R, 21.

As we have already seen, al-Bukhārī's main object was to collect together the genuine traditions only. By those he meant such traditions as were handed down to him from the Prophet or the community of a well-known Companion by a continuous chain of trustworthy persons according to his researches. He followed a minimum standard by the honest and trustworthy traditionists as men of integrity, possessing retentive memory and a habit of preserving traditions were not contrary to what was reported by the principal authorities, and were free from hidden defects. al-Bukhārī excluded in his book the narrations of some narrators if they explicitly said that they had received the traditions from their authorities. In case their statement in this respect was ambiguous, he took care that they were proved to have not associated with their teachers and were free from other statements.<sup>2</sup>

From the above principles which al-Bukhārī took as his guiding principle of his source for the materials of his book, one may easily come about it. He employed his skill and care, however, not in connection with the principal contents of his work. About the traditions which he used as the heading of one of the chapters, that is, corroboratives for the principal ones, he has very often omitted the whole or parts of their *Isnads*, and in certain cases has relied on weak authorities.<sup>3</sup> The number of the 'suspended' and 'corroborative' traditions in the book is about 1725.<sup>4</sup>

al-Bukhārī, however, wanted not only to collect together what he considered to be genuine traditions, but also to impress their imports upon the mind of his readers, and to show them what legal inferences could be drawn from these traditions. He, therefore, divided the whole work into more than 100 books which he subdivided into 250 chapters. Every chapter has a heading which serves as a key to the contents of the various traditions included in it.

1 For a detailed discussion of the term 'genuine' see IS. i. 24ff.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 IR. 30.

In the choice of his materials for the *Sahih* on the whole al-Bukhārī has shown his very keen selection of traditions as well as of the lives, character and authenticity of their narrators. By his choice of the headings for the various chapters he has shown his keen insight into the import of the traditions chosen by him, and his thorough grasp of the system of Islamic jurisprudence.

About the headings of the various chapters in the *Sahih* it has been aptly remarked that by them "consists the *Uphā* of al-Bukhārī". These headings consist of verses from the Qur'ān or of passages from traditions. In some cases they are in entire agreement with the traditions under them, wherefore they serve as mere index to them. In some other cases they are of wider or narrower significance than the traditions which follow, wherefore they serve as an additional object of interpretation and explanations of the traditions. In some cases, they are in the interrogative form. In such cases al-Bukhārī wanted to show that according to him the problem was still undecided. In some cases he wanted to warn against what might outwardly appear as wrong or impiousness. In the headings of all the chapters a certain object was kept in view by al-Bukhārī. In cases also where the headings are not followed by a tradition which have baffled many traditionists, al-Bukhārī wanted to show that no genuine tradition on the subject was known to him.<sup>1</sup>

In the repetition of the various versions of one and the same tradition in different chapters also al-Bukhārī has struck a new path. By repeating them at different places instead of putting them together at one and the same place, he wanted to bring to light further evidence of the authenticity of the traditions in question, and at the same time to draw more than one practical conclusion from them. Similarly, in including a part of a tradition in one chapter and inserting another part in another chapter, and in introducing the 'suspended' traditions as *Marfū'* and *Mawqūf* al-Bukhārī has



and Abu 'Ali al-Ghassani have also criticised the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī,<sup>1</sup> and al-'Aynī in his commentary has shown the defects of some of its contents.<sup>2</sup>

But all the Muslim traditionists including the critics of the *Sahih*, and the modern Orientalists have unanimously paid tribute to the general accuracy, scrupulous care and exactitude of the author of the book. "In his selections of *Hadith*", says Brockelmann, "he has shown the greatest critical ability, and in editing the text he has sought to obtain the most scrupulous accuracy".<sup>3</sup>

### THE SAHIH OF MUSLIM

The position of the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī in *Hadith* literature is not unrivalled. Another *Sahih* was compiled almost simultaneously with it, and it was considered as superior to the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī by some, equal to it by many and next to it by most of the traditionists. It is the *Sahih* of Abu al-Hasan 'Asakir al Din Muslim b. Hajjāj b. Muslim al-Qushayrī al-Nishāpūrī.

Muslim, as his *nisba* shows, belonged to the Qushayrī tribe of the Arabs, an off-shoot of the great clan of Rabi'a. His tribe took more or less important part in the history of Islam since the death of the Prophet. Hayda, a Qushayrī,

#### (1) NSM, 2

1. Dr. A. Mingana published a note on a MS. of the oldest fragments of the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī in J. R. A. S. 1880, pp. 267-272. In it he has detected the special features of the MS. and promised to publish a complete scientific edition of it, which has not been available to me. His suggestion, however, that the book was not composed by al-Bukhārī but by a student of the book one or two generations after al-Bukhārī, because the word '*Ushbarana*' is used for 'road' and '*Hafarana*' for the later narrators, is not warranted. For the structure of these terms was not definitely fixed at the time of al-Bukhārī and also because in the *Risāla* of *Imād al-Din* of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī also which was certainly composed by al-Khatīb the author is introduced with the term '*Ushbarana*' and other narrators with the term '*Hafarana*'.

#### (2) Lb, 'Bukhārī'



is mentioned in the *Arz* as one of the Companions.<sup>1</sup> Qunyah b. Habbayn, another Qashiri, was made by the Prophet a *Wali* in charge of the affairs of his people. Zayd b. Abd al-Rahman, another Qashiri, is said to have killed 100 non-Muslims at the battle of Yarmuk in which he lost one of his legs.<sup>2</sup>

After the vast Islamic conquests among members of the Qashiris together with the members of the other tribes migrated from Arabia and settled down in the various provinces, some in the west and some in the east. Kulthum b. Ishaq and his nephew Bad b. Badr who had served as governors of Africa and of Andalus respectively settled down in a quarter near Cordova in Spain. Another Qashiri family had their residence at Hama. Some of them migrated to the East and settled down in Khurasan. Among them was one Zuhayr who served as a governor of the province for some time. His son Amir and even his grandson Amir settled down at Nisapur.<sup>3</sup> From there probably descended one another Muslim, the son of al-Hafiz who was a tribal chief of no mean merit.<sup>4</sup>

Very little is known about the early life of Muslim. It is said, however, that he was born in 90/57 and that having learnt and excelled in the various branches of Arabic literature at an early age, he took to the special study of *Hadith*. In the pursuit of this subject he travelled widely and visited all the important centres of learning in Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. He attended the lectures of most of the important traditionists of his time e.g. Is'eq b. Rahawayh, Ahmad b. Harbal, Ubayd Allah b. Qasrari, Shuwayh b. Yûnus, Abd Allah b. Mashama, Hamada b. Yahya and others.

(1) ITS, I, 752

(2) JA, fol. 288.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

Having finished his studies he settled down at Nishapur, earned his livelihood by means of trade, and devoted his life to the service of *Hadith*. He died in the year 201 *h* on account of taking too much of *Bacodur* (*Anacardium*) while he was busy in finding out a particular tradition.

Muslim's character is said to have been admirable. His fearless adherence to the truth is shown by his persistence in his association with al-Bukhari while all others had deserted the latter on account of the fear of Muhammad b. Yahya as Dhahab.<sup>1</sup> Muslim never spoke ill of any one, nor did he abuse any one during his whole life.<sup>2</sup>

Like al-Bukhari, Muslim also devoted his whole life to the service of *Hadith*. He wrote many books and treatises on *Hadith* and on subjects allied to it. Ibn al-Nadim has mentioned five of his books on biography and *Hadith*.<sup>3</sup> Han Khafiz has added the names of many other works by him on the same subject.<sup>4</sup>

The most important of these works is his *Sahih* which has been regarded in certain respects as the best work on the subject. In order to compile this book, Muslim examined 300,000 traditions, out of which he picked up only 1000 about the genuineness of which the traditionists were unanimous, and included them in his *Sahih*.<sup>5</sup>

Muslim considered only such traditions as genuine as had been handed down to him by a continuous chain of reliable authorities, were in conformity with what had been related by the narrators whose reliability was unanimously accepted, and were free from hidden defects. He has classified traditions into three groups:

(1) WA, No. 727.

(2) BM, 117.

(3) FN, 231.

(4) KZ, ii, 541ff. cf. NSM, 4.

(5) NSM, 5.

(6) MIS, 8-9.

(7) NSM, 5.

- 1 Those that were related by such narrators as had been straightforward and steadfast in their narrations, did not differ much in them from other reliable narrators, nor did they commit obvious confusion in their narrations;
- 2 the traditions the narrators of which were not distinguished for their retentive memory and steadfastness in narrations;
- 3 the traditions which were related by such narrators as were related by the traditionists in general or by most of them to be of questionable reliability.

The first group says Muslim form the principal part of the contents of his book, the second group are included as corroborative of the first group and the third are entirely rejected.<sup>1</sup>

The book on Tafsir in Muslim's *Sahih* is neither complete nor systematic. Hence it is not considered as a *Jami'* like that of al-Bukhari. But Muslim strictly observed many principles of the science of *Hadith* which had been neglected by his great predecessor al-Bukhari. He differentiated between the use of the terms *al-kutub* and *al-hadith*, and always used the former in connection with the traditions which had been related to him by his teachers and the latter in connection with what he had read out to them. He was more strict and consistent than al-Bukhari in pointing out the differences between the narrations of the various *Riway* and stating their character and other particulars. He showed greater acumen than his predecessor in the arrangement of traditions and their *Isnads* in his work, and in putting together the different versions of a tradition in one place.<sup>2</sup> He did not commit any mistake or confusion in the text or *Inad* of any tradition as his predecessor had done.<sup>3</sup> He added to his book a long intro-

<sup>1</sup> SM, Muqaddimah, 3ff.

<sup>2</sup> NSM, 5

(3) BM, 117

duction in which he explained some of the principles which he had followed in the choice of the materials for his book and which should be followed in accepting and relating traditions.

Having compiled the *Sahih*, Muslim presented it to Abū Zar'a of Ray, a traditionist of great repute for criticism. He cancelled all that was pointed out by Abū Zar'a to him to be defective, and retained only such traditions as were deemed by him to be genuine.<sup>1</sup>

Carefully compiled by Muslim and corrected by Abū Zar'a, the *Sahih* has been recognized as the most authentic collection of traditions after that of al-Bukhārī, and superior to the latter in the details of its arrangement. Some traditionists held it to be superior to the work of al-Bukhārī in every respect. But Muslim himself had recognized the superiority of his predecessor. He, however, rightly claimed for his book the credit of being the basis of the future works on traditions for 200 years.<sup>2</sup>

After Muslim, some other traditionists also compiled 'genuine' traditions. These include Ibn Khuzayma (d. 311/923), Abu Hātim Muhammad Ibn Hibbān (d. 354/965),<sup>3</sup> etc. None of them, however, ever gained the recognition and popularity which has been enjoyed by the works of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

(1) NSM, 8.

(2) *Ibid*, 5.

(3) *Ibid.*, 8.

## CHAPTER V

### HADITH LITERATURE *Contd.*

#### THE SUNAN WORKS

The *Sunan* works constitute the richest branch of *Hadith* literature. Since the earliest period in the history of Islam, the traditionists attached more importance to the legal traditions (*fiqh al-shari'ah*) and the dogmatical traditions than to the historical (*maghazi*). According to them, the *maghazi* were of no practical value. Whether the Prophet left Ba'kr on the 6th of January 623 A.D. or on the 28th of March is of no practical utility to a Muslim. On the contrary, the real life as well as his habits, ablutions, prayers and pilgrimage or in his buying and selling things and his commands about carriage or the manumission of slaves, etc. should form the basis of every Muslim's practical life.

By and by, the traditionists confined their activities more and more to the study and compilation of the legal traditions only. According to them the *Maghazi* constitute a part of the history of Islam, and properly belong to that sphere. Since the second half of the third century, therefore, most of the traditionists, except the most ambitious ones, compiled only *Sunan* works some of which are included among the most important works in *Hadith* literature. Such are the works of Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, al-Dārimī, Ibn Mājah, al-Dāraqutnī and others. The book of al-Tirmidhī is really a *Jam'* and includes traditions on all the various subjects, but as it is generally called a *Sunan*, it will be discussed in this chapter together with the works of the other authors mentioned above.

#### THE SUNAN OF ABU DĀ'UD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ

One of the most important of the *Sunan* works is that of Abū Dā'ūd Salaymān b. al-Ash'ath who examined 500,000

traditions, and picked up 4400 of them for his book on which he laboured for 20 years.<sup>1</sup>

Abū Dāūd, the author of this book, was a descendant of 'Imrān who belonged to the tribe of Banī 'Azd of Arabia and who was killed in the battle of Siffin while fighting on behalf of 'Alī.<sup>2</sup> Abū Dāūd himself was born in 203/817. About the place of his birth the authorities differ. Ibn Khul-kān<sup>3</sup> and following him Westwood<sup>4</sup> are of the opinion that he was born in a village called Sijrāna near Basra. But Yaqūt, the great geographer,<sup>5</sup> and d'Servant<sup>6</sup> and d'Sauk<sup>7</sup> are of the opinion that our author was born in the well-known town of Sijrāna in Karmān. As a matter of fact a village named Sijrāna was never known to have existed near Basra.

Abū Dāūd received his elementary education probably in his native city. When he was ten years of age he joined a school in Nishapur. Here he studied with Muhammad b. Aslam<sup>8</sup> at 242/856. He also studied at Kairuan before going to Basra<sup>9</sup> where he received the largest part of his education in *Hadith*. He visited Kufa in 224 and from there he started on his journey in search of knowledge in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Syria and Egypt. He met all the important traditionists of his time from whom he gathered the knowledge of all the available traditions. The names of many of these teachers are found in works on *Imād' al-Riyā*.

(1) TA, 709. Westwood (Sh.) is of the opinion that the author of the statement that Abū Dāūd had been engaged up to his book for 20 years.

(2) KAS, 293; TA, 709.

(3) WA, No. 253.

(4) Sh, No. 17.

(5) MB, ii, 13.

(6) KAS, 293.

(7) TK, i, 48.

(8) MB, ii, 44.

(9) TA, 713.



During his travels, Abū Dāūd visited Baghdad many a time. One of the stories that he was visited by Abū Ahmad al-Mawlaḡī, the famous commander and brother of the famous al-Muḥallab. Abū Dāūd enquired from him the object of his visit. al-Mawlaḡī said that the object of his visit was directed to request Abū Dāūd to take up his residence at Basra which had been deserted by people on account of the insurrection of the Zanj, and which would attract thousands of refugees and would have an increase in population. Abū Dāūd took up his residence there, in response to request. Abū Dāūd devoted himself on traditions to al-Muḥallab's son, al-Ḥusayn, to ask Abū Dāūd to hold special classes for the purpose so much the common students might not be able to do. Abū Dāūd accepted the first two requests, but refused his and any to accede to the third. For the purpose of his classes, and Abū Dāūd would not make any distinction between the poor and the rich students. The sons of al-Muḥallab, therefore, attended according to the report of Ibn al-Sabkī, the times of Abū Dāūd together with the other students.<sup>1</sup>

This story related by al-Sabkī throws light not only on the great reputation enjoyed by Abū Dāūd as a traditionist and on his being so as a teacher, but also on the date of his final settlement at Basra. This could not have happened before the year 210, when the Zanj insurrection was finally crushed. Abū Dāūd died at Basra in the year 270<sup>2</sup> at the age of 73.

Abū Dāūd's vast knowledge of traditions, his upright character and his piety have been generally recognized by all the traditionists.<sup>3</sup>

Abū Dāūd wrote many books on traditions and the Islamic law.<sup>4</sup> The most important of them is the *Sunan* which has been taken to be the first book of its type in *Hadith*

<sup>1</sup> UK, II, 49.

<sup>2</sup> FA, 710.

<sup>3</sup> See al-KZ, III, 622ff.

literature has been recognized as a *ḥaṣṣa ṣaḥiḥa* work, and has been included in the most reliable collections of *Ḥadīth*. It has been divided into various books which are subdivided into different chapters.

Abū Dāūd kept up the scrupulous exactitude of his predecessors in reproducing the traditions which he had collected. But he differed from them in the standard of his choice. He included in his *Ṣaḥiḥ* not only the genuine traditions as al-Bukhārī and Muslim had done, but even such traditions which had been pronounced by some traditionists as weak and doubtful. Among the narrators he relied not only on those who had been declared by all the authorities unimpeachably as acceptable, but also on those who have been accepted only by some critics as reliable. For some of the critics like Shūḥab and others had been over strict in their criticism of the narrators.<sup>1</sup> Abū Dāūd collected, however, in every chapter the most reliable traditions known to him on the subject. He gave the various sources through which he had received traditions, and also stated the various versions of the various traditions. He pointed out the defects of the defective traditions as well as the relative value of different versions of them. In the case of the traditions which he believed to be genuine, however, he made no remarks whatsoever. Of the long traditions he has given only such parts as were relevant to the chapter in which they are included.<sup>2</sup>

The following remarks made by Abū Dāūd in connection with some of the traditions give us a general idea of the method and of the nature of his criticism:

'Abū Dāūd says: This is an inauthentic *ḥaṣṣa ṣaḥiḥa* *Ḥadīth*. Certainly it is related by Ibn Jurayj from Zayd b. Sa'd, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, that he said that the Prophet (may peace be on him) had put on a ring made of palm leaf, which after some time he threw away. The mistake in the *Ḥadīth* is due to Humam. No other narrator has related it.'<sup>3</sup>

(1) MSO, II, 253.

(2) Abū Dāūd's *Riḥlah* to the people of Mecca cited in FT.

(3) SAD, I, 4.

About another *Hadith* he says :—

"It has been related by Ibn Waddāh only. A similar *Hadith* has, however, been related by Muḥṣin b. Ubayd Allāh through a chain of narrators."<sup>1</sup>

In connection with another *Hadith* about a cow, two versions of it, he says :—

"The one related by Anas is more correct than the other."<sup>2</sup>

At another place, he points out that while the tradition is that Egypt has given a *Hadith* for it,<sup>3</sup> in connection with another *Hadith* he also points out that one of its narrators, Abū Dīnār, that he has come on a few traditions from al-Baḥrāh and that the present *Hadith* related by him on the authority of a *Hadith* was not one of them.<sup>4</sup> About the narrators of another *Hadith* he says:

"Abū Khudrā never heard any *Hadith* from Qatāda."<sup>5</sup> In connection with another *Hadith* he says:

"This *Hadith* has been handed down by several chains of authorities. A part of them are authentic."<sup>6</sup>

About another *Hadith* he says :—

"This *Hadith* has continuous chains of authorities."<sup>7</sup>

Concerning all the legal traditions which may serve as foundation for Islamic rituals and law, and explicit on the value and reliability of these traditions, Abū Dāwūd's book has generally been accepted as the most important *Sunan* work. The *Kitāb al-Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd<sup>8</sup> says al-Khattabī, "is a noble book. No book like it has ever been written on

<sup>1</sup> *SND* (100).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (2400).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (13—14).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* (1—8).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* (162).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* (1221).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

theologs". Abū Dāūd has collected in this book such traditions as no one before or after him ever compared together. It has been accepted, therefore, as a standard work on traditions by theologians of various schools in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Maghrib and in many other parts of the world in spite of their following different schools of Islamic law.<sup>1</sup>

### THE JAMĪ' OF AL-TIRMIDHĪ

The general principles were recorded in the *muṣṣaḥḥ* of *Hadith* which had been adopted by Abū Dāūd in his collection of *Sunan* were further improved upon and followed by his student Abū Isā Muḥammad b. Isā in his *Jamī'*. The latter work contains all such traditions—legal, dogmatical and historical—as had been accepted by the Muslim jurists of one school or another, as the basis of Islamic law.

Abū Isā Muḥammad b. Isā was born at Mecca in the year 200/821. He travelled a good deal in order to learn traditions, visited the various centres of Islamic learning in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia and Khurasan and associated with the eminent traditionists of his time, e.g. al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāūd and others. He died at Tirmidh in 279/892.

Abū Isā possessed an extremely sharp and retentive memory which was severely tested many times. It is related that once during his travels a traditionist dictated to him several traditions which occupied 40 pages. These pages were lost by al-Tirmidhī before he could revise them. He met the traditionist again after some time, and requested him to recite some traditions. The teacher suggested that he would read out from his manuscript the same traditions as he had dictated to al-Tirmidhī at the previous meeting and that al-Tirmidhī should compare his notes with what he heard. al-Tirmidhī instead of telling the teacher that he had lost his notes, took up some blank papers in his hand and looked into them as if they contained his notes and the teacher

(1) TA, 711-12.

began to read his book. The latter soon discovered the trick, and got angry at the young student's conduct. But al-Tirmidhi explained the position and said that he remembered every word of what had been dictated to him. The teacher refused to believe, and he challenged him to recite the traditions from his memory. al-Tirmidhi accepted the challenge at once and recited all the traditions with not committing a single mistake. Now the teacher doubted his statement that he had not revised his notes. In order to test this, he recited forty other traditions and asked al-Tirmidhi to reproduce them. al-Tirmidhi at once recited what he had heard from his teacher, who was now convinced of the truth of his statement, and was impressed by al-Tirmidhi's memory.

al-Tirmidhi's character is said to have been excellent, his piety and fear of God was unsurpassed.

Tirmidhi's *Jaami'* has been recognized as one of the most important works in *Hadith* literature, and has been unanimously included in the six canonical collections of *Hadith*. The author of this great *Jaami'* for the first time took into consideration only those traditions in which had already been based the various rituals and laws of Islam by the Muslim doctors of the various schools. He took pains to determine the identity, the names, the times and the *Isnad* of the narrators of those traditions. He tried to fix the degree of the reliability of traditions, and explained what use had been made of them by the jurists of the various schools of Islamic law.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, al-Tirmidhi adds a note almost to every *Hadith* with the words, "Abū 'Aa' says." Then he states various important and interesting points connected with the tradition. The following examples will show the nature and the importance of al-Tirmidhi's notes.

1. "It was related to us by Abū Kurayb who related it from 'Abd al-Baqī Sulaymān from Muhammad b. 'Aamr, from Abū Salma from Abu Hurayra, who said that the Prophet (may peace be upon him) said that but for causing

hardship to his people, he would have ordered them to rub their teeth with a brush at the time of every prayer. Abū 'Isa says: Verily this *Hadith* has been related to Muhammad b. Ishāq from Muhammad b. Ibrahim, from Abū Sa'īda, from Zayd b. Khalid, from the Prophet, peace be on him. And to me both the traditions of Abū Sa'īda from Abū Hurayra and Zayd b. Khalid from the Prophet are genuine, because verily it has been related from Abū Hurayra from the Prophet through more than one chain of authorities. But Muhammad thinks that the tradition of Abū Sa'īda from Zayd b. Khalid is the most correct. On this subject there are traditions related by Abū Bakr Siddiq, 'Alī, 'Aishah, Khalid, Anas, 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr, 'Umar al-Halabi and Ibn 'Umar'.<sup>1</sup>

2. 'Qutayba and Hammād and Abū Kurayb and Ahmad b. Ma'mūn and Maimūn b. Ghaylān and Abū 'Ammār have related to us saying that Waki' related to them from 'Amr b. Habbāb b. Abū Hāshim from 'Urwa from 'Aishah that the Prophet, peace be on him, kissed some of his wives and then went out for evening prayers without performing ablutions. 'Urwa said to 'Aishah: 'Who could this be but yourself?' 'Aishah laughed. Abū 'Isa says: A similar tradition has been related by many of those who possessed knowledge among the Companions and the Followers, and this is the opinion of Sufyān al-Thaurī and of the Jurists of Kufa. They say that a kiss does not vitiate the ablutions. And Mālik b. Anas and al-Auzā'i and Shāfi'i and Ahmad b. Hanbal and Ishāq b. Rahawayh say that a kiss cancels the ablutions, which is the opinion of many of those who possessed knowledge among the Companions and the Followers. Verily, our people, i.e. Mālik, Ahmad, etc. did not follow the tradition related by 'Aishah from the Prophet, peace be on him, because it did not appear to be genuine to them, on account of its *Isnad*. I heard Abū Bakr al-'Atar of Bāṣra quote 'Alī b. al-Madīnī who said that Yahya b. Sa'ād al-Qurṭabī declared this tradition as weak and said that it was like nothing, etc.



extremely weak. I heard Muhammad b. Ismâ'il also call it a weak tradition, saying that Habib b. Abi Thabit never received any tradition from Urwa. Ibrahim al-Laymî also related from A'ishah that the Prophet (peace be on him) kissed her and did not perform ablutions afterwards. But this also is not genuine, because Ibrahim al-Laymî is not known to have received this tradition from A'ishah. As a matter of fact, nothing that has been received from the Prophet on this subject can be called genuine.<sup>1</sup>

4. Ahmad b. Muhammad related to us, saying that, Abd Allah related to us from Fudayl b. Ghazwan, from Ibn Abu Nu'aym, from Abû Hurayra who said that Abû al-Qâsim (i.e. the Prophet), the Prophet of Forgiveness (peace be on him) said that he who accused his slave falsely, while in fact the slave was free from what had been said about him, would be punished on the Day of Judgment—except in case it should be as the master asserted. This is a fair genuine tradition. And on the subject, traditions are related by Suwayd b. Muqarran and Abd Allah b. Umar. As for Ibn Abu Nu'aym, he is Abd al-Rahmân b. Abû Nu'aym whose *kunya* is Abu al-Hakam<sup>2</sup>.

These three examples should suffice to show the nature of the remarks made by al-Tirmidhî on the traditions included in his *Jamî'*. He described the traditions, however, as *Sahih* genuine, *Hasan* fair, *Sahih Hasan* genuine-fair, *Hasan Sahih* fair-genuine, *Gharib* rare, *Daif* weak, *Munkar* undetermined, etc. The most important feature of the *Jamî'* so far as the determination of the relative value of reliability of traditions is concerned is the description of some traditions as *Hasan* (fair).

To this class belong most of the traditions on which a large part of the rituals and laws of Islam are based. The term had been already used by Ahmad b. Hansal, al-Bukhârî

(1) JTJ : 13.

(2) *Ibid.* n. 16.

and others<sup>1</sup> but sparingly and probably in a loose sense. al-Tirmidhī realized the importance of these *ḥadīth* as a source of Islamic law, defined the term for the first time in the *Kitāb al-Jamʿ* of his *Jamʿ* and applied it to those traditions which fulfilled its requirements.

al-Tirmidhī has defined *al-ḥadīth* as a tradition which has been related by such narrators as are not accused of falsehood provided it is handed down by more than one chain of authorities and is not contrary to what has been related by other reliable narrators in general. Such traditions cannot be called *ḡayb* because their genuineness according to the traditional canons has not been proved. It would be equally wrong to declare them to be entirely unreliable because neither the character of their narrators warrants such a judgment nor can it be justified by a comparison with the traditions which have been handed down by reliable authorities in general. Their reliability or unreliability depends on the nature of the particular traditions and the character of their narrators and must therefore be different in different cases. Some of these traditions may be nearly though not exactly as reliable as the genuine traditions. Some may be almost though not quite as unreliable as traditions related by unknown narrators.

In order to determine this class of traditions and the degree of its reliability, al-Tirmidhī described some of them as *ṣaḥīḥ Ḥasan*, some as *Ḥasan*, and some as *Ḥasan ḡayb*. But he has not been quite consistent in his use of the term *Ḥasan* on account of which many traditionists have criticised him. Efforts have been made to explain his inconsistency in various ways.<sup>2</sup> But none of them can satisfy a modern minute critic. The *Jamʿ* of al-Tirmidhī, however in its general scientific form, and the nature of its criticism, has been accepted by the traditionists as a unique work in *Ḥadīth* literature.

(1) MIS, 14-15.

(2) MIS, 14 ff.; TR, 53-54.

## THE SUNAN OF AL-NASĀ'Ī

Another important ~~Sunnah~~ work that compiled by Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) and Nasā'ī was born in the year 211/826 A.H. in the town of Irbidhah at Nablus (near Nablus). Having received his early education in his home town, he went at the age of 15 to Balkh, where he remained for some time. Qasbiy has said for instance, "and he remained there for two years" (*Hadith*, 1/107). He had many teachers. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was his teacher. In the year 302/914 he went to Damascus. He was famous for his piety and for his erudition in the sciences. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān for the influence of his *Umm al-Salām* (his mother) gave the people the right to hear him, because of his knowledge of the sciences. Abū 'Abd wanted to make a collection of the report of a *ḥadīth*. The people, however, did not want to put up with hearing recorded *ḥadīth*, but they would have him out at the mosque. He was obliged to go out and could not have long after this incident. He died in the year 303/915.<sup>2</sup>

Nasā'ī was recognized as the best traditionist of his time. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥumaydī al-Ḥumaydī al-Dīlāmī, another important traditionist, selected him unambiguously as the best of all the teachers of *Hadith* at the time, and Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān declared him many a time as the foremost traditionist of his age.<sup>3</sup> His care about traditions is evident from the fact that in connection with the traditions related by al-Ḥāthim al-Nasā'ī never used the term *Ḥadīth* *ḥadīth* or *Ḥadīth* *ḥadīth* in the case of those traditions which had been related to him by other teachers. Nasā'ī points out that the traditions he had to relate from al-Ḥāthim were read by the latter within his Nasā'ī's hearing. Nasā'ī himself was not allowed to attend the lectures of al-Ḥāthim and therefore had to hear them by hiding himself at the gate of the lecture room.

<sup>2</sup> *Ḥadīth*, 1/107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ḥadīth*, 1/107.

<sup>4</sup> *Ḥadīth*, 1/107.

In his large work on *Sunan* which he confessed to have contained a good many weak and doubtful traditions, al-Nasā'ī compiled the legal traditions which he considered to be either fairly reliable or of possible reliability. At the request of some of his friends, he also compiled out of the *Sunan* a smaller work which is called *al-Mu'tana*, or *al-Sunan al-Sughra*. al-Nasā'ī claimed that this smaller work contained only reliable traditions. It is accepted as one of the six canonical collections<sup>1</sup>

In this book, al-Nasā'ī entirely ignored the point of view of his senior contemporary al-Tirmidhī—viz. the question of the application of traditions to various problems, that might have been made by the different schools of the Muslim jurists. al-Nasā'ī's main object was only to establish the text of traditions and the differences between their various versions—almost all of which he quotes *in extenso*, instead of only referring to them as Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī had done. In many places, he gives headings to the differences between the various narrators, and mentions the least differences among their narrations, which is described by Goldziher as 'pettifogging'.<sup>2</sup> But this 'pettifogging' is of great importance to the exactitude of a traditionist, and is not limited to the chapters on rituals only (as Goldziher says), but abounds also in other chapters. In some cases, after giving the various versions of a *Hadith*, al-Nasā'ī points out some of them to be incorrect and some to be correct. In the choice of his authorities, he had been strict. As a matter of fact, it is said that his canons of criticism of the narrators were more strict than those of Muslim.<sup>3</sup> The book, however, contains many weak and doubtful traditions related by unknown narrators of doubtful veracity.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE *SUNAN* OF AL-DĀRIMĪ 181-255 797-868

Another important *Sunan* work is that of al-Dārimī. It is the earliest *Sunan* work received by us. An old manuscript

(1) TK, ii, 84.

(2) MSt, ii, 252.

(3) TdH, ii, 268.

(4) KZ, iii, 626-27.

copy of the book was bought in Mecca and lithographed and published in India at the instance of Sayyid Saḥib Husayn Kāfī of Rāpur, a great person of *Hafiz* learning in the last century.

The author of the *Sunan*, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd. ‘Alah b. ‘Abd. al-Raḥmān, is said to have been the Arabian trader of Basra-Damascus, an ally of the great clan of Basra-Lamān<sup>1</sup> to which he belonged probably by *matriline*. He was born in the year 161/778. He travelled a good deal in pursuit of traditions, and entered them with important relations of authority, e.g. Yazīd b. Ḥarīm, Saḥīb ‘Aḥī, and others. Damani was marked for his interest in traditions and for his veracity and piety. The keenness of his intellect and his wide knowledge were generally recognized. His contentment and religiousness were proverbial. He was offered the post of a judge at Samarra and, but he did not accept it and he was pressed hard to do so. Having accepted the post, he resigned it just after handling one case only.<sup>2</sup> He died in the year 255/868.<sup>3</sup>

*Sunan al-Damani* has been described by some important traditions as a *Muḥad* work.<sup>4</sup> This is obviously a mistake — unless the term be used in its general sense. Some traditionists call it a *ṣaḥīḥ*, a collection of genuine traditions. But this use is a mistake, for the book contains many traditions which do not satisfy the conditions necessary for genuine traditions.

The *Sunan* contains 3,500 traditions which are arranged in 14-8 chapters according to their contents.<sup>5</sup> One of the special features of the book is its general introductory chapter in which the compiler has collected together — in various chapters — traditions connected with certain practices of the

(1) SD, ed. intro. 6.

(2) KAS, 218b, TdH, b, 115-17.

(3) JKh, u, 341.

(4) MİS, p. 15.

(5) SD, ed. intro., p. 7; BM, 48.

Arabs before Islam, traditions connected with the life and the character of the Prophet, traditions connected with the writing down of traditions, and traditions about the high place of knowledge, etc. In the general plan of the body of the book al-Dīrāmī has followed the same system as had been followed by later compilers of *Sunan* works. In the body of the book, after some traditions the compiler will not on some of which he gives his own opinion on certain problems, or identifies some narrators or criticises their character, or points out the difference between their versions of a tradition. But such notes in the book are very few and too short in comparison with those in the works which have been discussed above.

The book is generally accepted as reliable,<sup>1</sup> and has been pronounced by some traditionists as the sixth of the canonical collections.<sup>2</sup> But it never attained the position of any of the first three works, because it contains more weak and defective traditions than they do.<sup>3</sup>

### THE *SUNAN* OF IBN MĀJĀ

Most of the traditionists prefer the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja to that of al-Dīrāmī, and include it among the most reliable works in *Hadith*, instead of the latter. The compiler of this work, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Maḥammad b. Yazīd, generally known as Ibn Māja when it was the title of his father or grand father, was born at Qizwin in the year 209 A.H. He visited the important centres of learning in Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, and learnt traditions with well-known traditionists of his time. He compiled several works in *Hadith* of which the most important is the *Sunan*. In this work, Ibn Māja collected together 4000 traditions in 32 books in 1500 chapters. It is reported that having compiled the book, Ibn Māja presented it for criticism to Abū Zar’a, the best critic of *Hadith* at the time. Abū Zar’a liked the general plan of the work as well as the

(1) MHS, 15.

(2) MAA, Intro.

(3) KZ v, 540.



arrangement of the material, and remarked that he expected that this work would supersede the *Hadith* works which had been in general use. He also said that the number of the weak traditions in the book was not large—more than 30.<sup>1</sup>

But the book contains a good many traditions which have been declared by authorities on the subject, as forged ones. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq of Delhi says that the traditions about Qizwan—a town in Persia to which Ibn Māja belonged—are forged ones.<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Jawzi has declared in his work on *Mawdu'at* that all the traditions on the merits of individuals or tribes or towns are forged ones. And many such traditions are found in *Sunan Ibn Maja*.

#### THE SUNAN OF AL-DĀRAQUTNĪ (306-385 A.H.)

Another *Sunan* work of some importance was compiled by Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Umar, generally known as al-Daraqutnī on account of his residence in the quarter called Dār Qutn in Baghdad).

al-Daraqutnī was born in the year 306/918. He learnt and excelled in Arabic literature and various Islamic sciences—specially, Traditions and the Readings (*qir'at*) of the Qur'an. His book on the latter subject has been acknowledged as the first work of its type the general plan of which has been followed by all the later authors. His knowledge of the Arabic language was recognized by the authorities on the subject during his own life-time. His wide knowledge of traditions, their narrators and the narrators' character had been admitted by his contemporaries as well as by his successors.<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad (generally known as al-Hākim) of Nishāpūr, the great critic of traditions, Abū Nu'aym Ahmad of Isfahan, whose *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* is said to be the best work

(1) TdH, ii, 209 ff.

2) MAA, intro.

3) TB, xii, 34-40.

on the biography of the saints,<sup>1</sup> Iammām of Ray—the author of the *Faḥṣ'id*, and 'Abd al-Ghannī b. Sa'īd the traditionist, were students of Dāraqutnī and recognized his wide critical knowledge of *Hadith*.

al-Hākim who narrated traditions from about 2 000 traditionists<sup>2</sup> remarked that he never had met a traditionist like Dāraqutnī. For whenever any subject was discussed with him Dāraqutnī, he showed wide knowledge of it.<sup>3</sup>

al-Daraqutnī was specially interested in traditions on which subject he was taken as the best authority in his time. Every traditionist who visited Baghdad made it a point to see him, and acknowledged his greatness. Abū Mansur b. al-Karkhī, while compiling his *Musnad*, depended upon Dāraqutnī's help in determining the defective traditions, and on the notes which were dictated by Dāraqutnī to Abū Mansur, Abū Bakr al-Barqānī has based his work on traditions.<sup>4</sup> He also rendered material help in the compilation of a *Musnad* work to Ibn Hinzāba, the able and learned minister of the Ikhshīdīd rulers of Egypt. Having learnt that the *Musnad* was being compiled, Dāraqutnī travelled from Baghdad to Egypt and stayed there till the work was completed. Throughout this period Ibn Hinzāba showed him great respect and regard, and at the end bestowed upon him rich rewards.<sup>5</sup>

Dāraqutnī himself composed many useful works on *Hadith* and connected subjects. A list of them is given by Wüstenfeld in his work on the *Shāfi* is.<sup>6</sup> The most important of these works for our purpose is the *Sunan* which was recognized as one of the reliable compilations of *Hadith*—next in importance to the six canonical collections. It was used by al-Baghawī

(1) WA, No. 32.

(2) *Ibid.* No. 626.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 38.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.* Nos. 132, 445.

(6) Sh, No. 235.

(1) 516. VII— as one of the chief sources for his *Ma ābīh al-Sunnah*.<sup>1</sup>

Dirr al-mu'tazil is collected together in his *Sunan* such traditions as he considered to be fairly reliable, and he has given their various *Isnad* and different versions. Of the very first *Hadith*, for example, he has given 5 different versions, with 54 different chains of authorities, some of which he has declared as weak (Mawdu'). He adds to certain traditions some notes in which he tries to fix their degree of reliability and the identity of some of their narrators, with criticism of their character and reliability. The number of weak traditions in his *Sunan*, however, is fairly large. It is at any rate larger than in any of the *Sunan* works included in the canonical collections, and therefore it has not been included among them.

#### THE SUNAN OF AL-BAYHAQI (384-458/991-1065)

After Dirr al-mu'tazil another *Sunan* was compiled by Abū Bakr Ahmad b. al-Hasan of Bayhaq, a group of villages near Nishāpūr. Al-Bayhaqi was born in the year 384. He studied traditions with more than 100 eminent traditionists of his time, including Abū Abī Allāh al-Bukhārī, one of the greatest traditionists of the time, of whom al-Bayhaqi was the most eminent pupil. Having excelled in the various Islamic sciences, al-Bayhaqi began his career as an author, and composed a large number of works on traditions and on the Shāfi'i system of Muhammadan law. Some of these works are said to be unparalleled in the history of Arabic literature.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bayhaqi's reputation as a traditionist and a jurist attracted the attention of the Muslim scholars of Nishāpūr, who invited him to their town and requested him to read one of his books with them. They recognized his greatness when their request had been granted by him.<sup>3</sup> He died in the year 458/1065.

(1) MSn., 2.

(2) TK, iii, 4.

(3) *Ibid* 3-5.

at Bayhaq was a prolific writer. It is said that he composed about 1000 books and treatises. Among them his two *Sunan* works are well known. It is said that they are unique in their general plan and the method of treatment.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE SUNAN OF SA'ID B. MANSUR (n. 227-241)

Earlier than all the *Sunan* works mentioned above is that of Abu 'Uthman Sa'id b. Mansur b. Sa'ad. He was born at Merv and was brought up at Bayhaq. He wandered through a large part of the Islamic world and at last settled down in Mecca where he died in the year 227/841.

He learnt traditions with prominent teachers like Malik, Hammad, Abu Awfian and others, and from them he related *thawath* to such traditionists as gained great prominence at a later period, e.g. Muslim, Abu Daud and Ahmad b. Hanbal who had respect and regard for Sa'id b. Mansur.<sup>2</sup>

He completed his *Sunan* about the end of his life and is said to have had great confidence in his work.<sup>3</sup> The *Sunan* is said to have contained a large number of *sunan* traditions as had been received by him from Muhammad through three mediums<sup>4</sup> only.

#### THE SUNAN OF ABU MUSLIM AL-KASHIRI (n. 292-395)

Another of the early *Sunan* works is that of Abu Muslim Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kashiri. His *naba* has been variously explained, i.e. by reference to his forefathers or his place of residence, a village called Kasir in the province of Khuzistan.<sup>5</sup> The latter explanation seems to be supported by the fact that he took a prominent part in the battles which were fought near Khuzistan.

(1) KZ, iii, 627.

(2) TdH, ii, 5.

(3) TT, iii, No. 148.

(4) TdH, ii, 5; BM, 51.

(5) KAS, sub nom.

He learnt traditions with eminent traditionists of his time like Abū 'Asim a-Nahdī, Abū 'Awāna and others.

He visited Baghdad where he delivered some lectures on traditions. His fame and reputation attracted an incredibly large number of students. His voice could not reach all of them. Seven persons therefore were appointed to reproduce his lectures to such of his audience as could not hear him. After he finished his lectures and the crowd cleared up, the place occupied by them was measured and the ink-pots left by such of them as had brought them with themselves in order to take notes from his lectures were counted, and thus the number of the audience was estimated to have been more than 3,000. Abū Muslim died in the year 282 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Abū Muslim devoted his best effort and attention to his *Sunan* which is said to have contained many such traditions which had been received by him from the Prophet, through three narrators only.<sup>2</sup>

Many other *Sunan* works had been compiled by the different traditionists, but few of them acquired any importance or recognition in the Muslim world.

### THE MU'JAM WORKS

Except the *Mu'jam* works never acquired the importance of the *Sunan* works in *Hadith* literature, yet many of them were compiled side by side with the *Mu'nat* and the *Sunan*. The best known of them are the *Mu'jam* of Abū al-Qāsim Sūlamī and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jabarānī who is generally known by his *nisba*.

al-Jabarānī was born at Tiberias in 260/873. He travelled in pursuit of traditions through a large part of the Islamic world, and visited all the important centres of *Hadith* learning in Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia. He learnt traditions from 1000 traditionists of his time. Having

1. *Tabaqat*, I, 177.

2. *Tabaqat*, I, 177.

completed his studies, he settled down at Isfahan in 290/902, where a pension was fixed for him.<sup>1</sup> He lived for 70 years, teaching *Hadith* to students and compiling various works on the subject. He died in the year 360/970 at the age of 100 years.

His wide learning of traditions and his pious, reliable character as their narrator has been generally recognized.<sup>2</sup>

Of his works, a list of which is found in the *Tadhkirat al-Huffâ*,<sup>3</sup> the most important are the three *Mu'jams*. The largest of them, commonly known as *al-Mu'jam al-Kabir*, is really a *Musnad* work.<sup>4</sup> It contains about 25,000 traditions which have been collected together under the names of the various Companions by whom they are narrated, the names being arranged in alphabetical order. The medium *mu'jam* of Tabarâni is also a large work divided into two volumes. It contains the rare traditions narrated to the compiler by his teachers whose names together with their traditions are given in alphabetical order. The author took pride in this work which shows his wide knowledge of the subject. But it contains many weak traditions. The smallest of Tabarâni's *Mu'jam* works is known as *al-Mu'jam al-Saghir* and has been lithographed at Delhi. This book is, according to the compiler's own statement, his first *Mu'jam* and contains only one tradition related by each of his teachers.<sup>5</sup> But we find that about the end of the book the compiler has given two or three traditions with the same *I'rad*.<sup>6</sup>

Many other *Mu'jam* works had been compiled before and after those of al-Tabarâni. Some of them are mentioned by Hâjī Khalifa.<sup>7</sup>

(1) TdH, iii, 129.

(2) KAS, 366a; MBn, iii, 511-12.

(3) TdH, iii, 127-28.

(4) KZ, v, 629.

(5) MSg, i.

(6) *Ibid.* 183, 240, 241, 248, etc.

(7) KZ, v, 623-30.



# THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VARIOUS WORKS IN HADITH-LITERATURE

The works in *Hadith* literature have been classified by the traditionists into four categories according to their reliability and importance. In the first category belong those works which are considered to be the most reliable. These are: 1. the *Muṣannaf* of Maṣṭūṭ b. Saʿd al-Bakḥārī and the *Saḥih* of Muslim.<sup>1</sup> The latter two works include almost all the traditions reported in the *Muṣannaf*, on account of which most of the important traditionists did not include it in the six canonical collections. These three books have been generally accepted as authentic since the life-time of their authors. The *Muṣannaf* was declared by a Shāfiʿi as the most authentic book after the *Qurʾān*.<sup>2</sup> The *Saḥih al-Bakḥārī* was, as has already been said, received by 900 students from the author himself and was accepted as reliable by important traditionists of his time (e.g. Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Qaṣṣib<sup>3</sup> and others).<sup>4</sup> The *Saḥih* of Muslim also did not take long to receive the general recognition of the traditionists.

In the second category belong the four *Sunan* works which together with the two *Saḥih* are known as *al-Kutub al-Sitta*. The tendency to associate some of the *Sunan* works with the two *Saḥih* appears, as Grätz<sup>5</sup> has shown<sup>6</sup> to have begun about the middle of the fourth century when Saʿīd b. al-Sakān, one of the distinguished traditionists who died in 353/964 in Egypt, and whose *Muṣannaf* was recognized a century after his death by Ibn Ḥazm as one of the best collections of *Hadith*, had once declared that the two *Saḥih*s of al-Bakḥārī and Muslim and the two *Sunan*s of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʿī were the foundations of *Isām*. After some time the *Jamʿ* of al-Tirmidhī was added to the above four books and the

1. Hs. 13. 4.

2. *Ibid.*

3. MS. B.

4. FM. 16.

5. MS. n. 262.

five books together were given the distinguished title of *al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to determine when the *Jamī* of al-Tirmidī received the recognition of the traditionists in general. Ibn Hāzim whose list of reliable works in *Hadith* we have received<sup>2</sup> made some criticism against the book, because it contained traditions related by al-Maṭab and al-Kalb.<sup>3</sup> But it is probable that the general recognition of Tirmidī's *Jamī* preceded that of the work of Ibn Māja which was added to the five books, raising the number of the canonical collections to six for the first time by Abū al-Ḥadīd Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir who died in the beginning of the sixth century (505-1114). But as Goldziher has pointed out, throughout the sixth century the pride of place was denied by the traditionists to the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja. Razay b. Mu'āwiyā (d. 535-1140) in his Compendium of the Six Books (*Tajrid al-Saḥih al-Sitt*), Ibn al-Kharrāṭ (d. 581-1180) and al-Hāzīmī (d. 583-1181) did not recognize the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja as a canonical collection. It was just a century after Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir that the book was again recognized as one of the six collections of *Hadith* by 'Abd al-Ghanī (d. 600-1203) in his *al-Kamāl fī Ma'rifaṭ al-Riḡal*, by Ibn al-Naḡār (d. 645-1245) in his *Riḡal al-kutub al-Sitta*, by Ibn Taymīya (d. 662-1273) in his *al-Muntaqā* (which was based on the six books including the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja), by Na'ib al-Dīn b. Sayqal (d. 672-1273) in his collection of traditions, by Shams al-Dīn al-Jazārī (d. 711-1311) in his work on the subject, and by al-Mizzī (d. 742-1341) in his *Ṭahf*. It may, therefore, be assumed (as Goldziher suggests) that from the seventh century the six books had been generally recognized by the whole world of Islam as the reliable collections of *Hadith*.<sup>4</sup>

But within these six books if the position of the two *Saḥihs* was always supreme and unparalleled, the place of the *Sunan*

(1) TR, 29.

(2) *Ibid.* 32.

(3) *Ibid.* 56.

(4) MSt, ii, 262-63.

of Ibn Maja always remained doubtful. Abu 'Umar 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd (d. 643/1241) and following him al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) and also Ibn Kiyāma (d. 703/1403) recognized only five books included the *Sunan* of Ibn Maja from the category of the generally accepted books.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athir al-Jazir,<sup>2</sup> (d. 639/1234), Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq of Delhi,<sup>3</sup> and others reported it either by the *Muzatta* or the *Sunan* of al-Darimi. The other works included in the six best works have been accepted by all the important Muslim doctors of both the East and the West as the most authentic works and were included in the various sections of the best ten works in *Hadith*.

The main principles which guided the traditionists in giving preference to these six works appear to be the facts

- i. that their compilers laid down certain principles of criticism and selection of *Hadith* for their collections;
- ii. that the principal parts of their contents consisted of genuine or fair traditions, and such of them as were weak were either stated to be so, or were negligible in number;
- iii. that the authorities on the subject had examined in detail the value of the various traditions, discussed the reliability of their narrators, and explained the rare *shudūh* contained in them so that the merit as well as the demerit of the works and the reliability or the unreliability of their contents had been discussed and made known; and
- iv. that the traditionists in general having examined them thoroughly, accepted them as reliable and used them as foundations for establishing legal principles and theological inferences.

(1) *MSt*, loc. cit.

(2) *Ibid.* ii, 264-65.

(3) *Ibid.* 265-67.

To the third category belong such *Musnad*, *Mu'annaf* and other collections as had been compiled before or after the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim contained reliable as well as unreliable traditions, and had not been thoroughly examined by the traditionists nor largely used by the jurists. Such are the *Musnad* of 'Abd b. Humayd and of Abū Dā'ūd al-Jayāsī, and the *Mu'annaf* works of 'Abd al-Razzāq, of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba and others.

To the fourth category belong the collections of *ahadith* made by such compilers as collected together during a later period such traditions as were not found in the works of the early compilers, and included in their collections a large number of forged traditions. The *Musnad* of al-Kawārazmī may be included in this class.

According to some authorities on traditions,<sup>1</sup> there is a fifth category of *Hadith* works which consists of such traditions as are declared by the Muslim doctors to be unreliable and forged ones.

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1. e.g. *Saḥīḥ Waḥy* Aḥmad al-Darī. See HB. I. 4.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOME OF THE SPECIAL FEATURES

OF

### THE HADITH LITERATURE

Every branch of literature develops certain special features on account of its particular subject-matter, the special character of the people who cultivate it, and take part in its development, and the social system or political or historical conditions in which it originates and flourishes. *Hadith* literature is no exception to this rule. Its life, the Prophet of Islam, and the movement started by him attracted the serious attention of all the people of Arabia, including his friends as well as his enemies. His words and deeds were not only preserved by his opponents as well as by his supporters. His opponents made use of them in their opposition to him. His supporters tried to follow him scrupulously in whatever he did or said. The reports of his words and deeds served as the basis for the Islamic law, the Islamic social system and the Islamic polity.

On account of the great importance of these reports, the Prophet's enemies as well as some of his misguided friends forged a large number of them and falsely attributed them to him. But his sincere friends and followers tried their best to check these forgeries, and established certain principles for the acceptance and rejection of the forged reports and of establishing the true ones among them. They made it imperative for the reporters to give the names of the narrators through whom they received the reports. This chain of narrators is known among the traditionists as the system of *Isnad*. They tried to be as exact in their reports as was humanly possible. The women as well the men took prominent part in transmitting these reports to the future generations. They declared as unreliable all those reporters who were suspected of making forgery in their reports. In order to check their veracity, the

traditionists created a huge literature on the life and character of every reporter, i.e. the *Isma' al-Rijal*. In criticizing the suspected reporters, the traditionists did not differentiate between the high and the low, or between the rulers or their officials and the common people. As a matter of fact, the important specialists and critics of these reporters generally associated themselves from the state officials, from the partisans in the civil war between the various parties of the Muslims, and from the sectarian leaders.

These special features of *Hadith* literature and of its critics will be dealt with in detail in the following pages.

### 1. FORGERY IN HADITH

It has been accepted by all the traditionists that there has been committed a great deal of forgery in *Hadith*. Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal said that in no other branch of literature there had been committed so much forgery as in *Hadith* and *Tafsir*. The very existence of a large literature on the *Mawdu'ât* (forged traditions) is a sure proof of extensive forgery committed in *Hadith* literature. On account of these forgeries the whole of *Hadith* literature has been branded by several Orientalists as unreliable and inauthentic.

It is an interesting problem to determine the period when forgery in *Hadith* began. Sir William Muir is of the opinion that it began during the caliphate of 'Uthmân.<sup>1</sup> But I think that it originated during the life-time of the Prophet himself. His opponents could not have failed to forge and attribute to him words and deeds for which he was not responsible. It was their purpose in thus mis-representing him to arouse public opinion against him. As a matter of fact, Ibn Hazm has accepted this explanation, and quoted an incident which took place during the life-time of the Prophet. He says: After the Prophet's *hijra*, a man went to a suburb of Madina, and told a tribe living there that the Prophet had given him

(1), LMu, xxvii.



and they were from . . . He had resorted to this fraud because he wanted to marry a girl who was a member of the tribe to which he had proposed marriage before the Hijra, but who had now refused to give him marriage to him. The tribe was a strong one. Proper to make inquiries concerning the matter, this was reported in his name. The Prophet pronounced the prohibition and ordered that he be put to death—if he were still alive.<sup>1</sup>

The Huzayra's *Mudharra* must have forged a good many traditions and attributed them to the Prophet. During the lifetime of Abu Bakr and when apostasy had raged in Medina, it is not unlikely that some of the apostates should have forged traditions as a device to suit their purpose. It may be true to say, however, that Abu Bakr and Umar b. al-Khattab were extremely strict in accepting traditions which were reported to them.

During the caliphate of Uthman the forgery of traditions became more common. Some of the members of the parties who sided with Mu'awiya were then inclined to forge traditions in order to advance their party interest. By and by this practice spread larger dimensions. The various political parties, the lawyers, the professional preachers, and even some of the sincere God-fearing Muslims who thought that it was necessary for them to forge traditions in order to induce people to lead a pious life and to do what is laid down by the Prophet, all made their contributions to the increasing stock of traditions falsely attributed to the Prophet.

The hypocrites alone forged thousands of traditions.<sup>2</sup> But more dangerous than these were the leaders of the political parties and the religious sects. They also forged traditions in praise of their efficient leaders and in support of their own views on religious problems. Still more dangerous were the professional preachers and story-tellers who, in order to

1. IV, 233-4.

attract a large number of adherents among people. Faced with a number of such traditions it would have been difficult to contain them.<sup>1</sup>

All these various groups of forgers created a havoc in *Hadith* literature. But in order to meet the great danger of forgery, and to sift the forged traditions from the true ones, the sincere and honest traditionists introduced the system of *Ibad* and *Ibad* down important principles were introduced in the works on *Dirayat al-Hadith*, *Crash Course of Hadith*.

## 2 THE SYSTEM OF *Ibad* CHAIN OF TRANSMITTERS

Each tradition in every collection of traditions, till the end of the third century of the Hijra, contains the chain of its transmitters—from the Prophet or from a Companion or from a follower down to the last reporter or the compiler. The traditionists call this chain of transmitters a *Isnad* or a *Sanad*. They attached great importance to it, and considered it as an indispensable part of a tradition. They tried to determine the relative value of the reliability of the various *Isnads* and of their different classes. They produced a vast literature on the biographies of the transmitters for its sake and developed the system into almost a science. Since the compilation of the collections of traditions and the composition of the works on the various connected sciences, they have applied the method of *Ibad* to those works as well as their manuscripts. In this system of *Ibad* the Muslims have taken great pride.

To determine the origin of the system of *Ibad* was difficult but interesting problem. Caetani<sup>2</sup> and Horowitz<sup>3</sup> have tried to solve it. A. Harvey has summarized their conclusions in his introduction to the *Mustadrik* of Umar b. al-Akbar.<sup>4</sup> And Prof. J. Robson has collected together most of what has been

<sup>1</sup> See *supra* pp. 107-08.

<sup>2</sup> *Asb al-Jadid*.

<sup>3</sup> J. Horowitz, *Introduction to the Study of Hadith*, vol. 1, pp. 1-17.

<sup>4</sup> JASB, 1921, pp. 304-30.

written by the Muslim scholars and the Orientalists on the subject and we are to evaluate it.<sup>1</sup>

Cartain tried to show that the system of *Ibad* could not have originated among the Arabs. The wild desolation of the Arabian deserts and the restless nature and character of the primitive nomadic nomadized and nomadic Arabs did not suit its origin and early growth among them. But Cartain's contention is based more on presumption than on facts. If accepted, it will only prove that the system of *Ibad* did not originate with the Arabs. And when then, did it originate? The great Islamic scholar has failed to give any example of its use by any other people.

Professor Magdoelato also in his lectures on the Arabic Hierarchy only says *in part* that the Greeks and the Romans rarely used it.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Horowitz has carried his researches further. Going so far as to search in the Jewish literature, he has proved that *Ibad* was used by the Jews before the Arabs. He has also tried to show that its use in the Jewish literature was found as early as the Moslem period and by the Talmudic times its character assumed enormous length and subject-matter being of the most varied nature.<sup>3</sup>

But the main facts discovered by the minute researches of the distinguished modern German Orientalist had already been dealt with by a medieval scholar of Andalusia, Abū Muhammad Abū 'Alī Maḥmūd in his *al-Faṣl fī al-Sūf*.<sup>4</sup>

Abū Maḥmūd (304-406/915-1004) is commonly known as Ibn Huzayf and is recognized by the Muslim scholars as one of the greatest geniuses of Islam and as one of the two most popular Muslim writers, the other being the famous

<sup>1</sup> The English Muslim League report on the *Investigation of the Common Principles of the Muslim Faith*, pp. 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> A.H. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Judentum*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> F.H. 10, 10-11.

historian. *Maṭṭah* b. *Jaḥr* a-*Ṭabarī*.<sup>1</sup> Ibn *Ḥazm* has described in detail the various forms of the transmission of matters relating to the Islamic religion from the Prophet of Islam to the future generations. He has divided them into six classes:—

- i) the transmission from the Prophet to the future generations by an overwhelming number of persons, Muslim as well as non-Muslim, of every generation, without any difference of opinion among them;
- ii) their unanimous transmission by all the Muslim doctors of every generation since the time of the Prophet;
- iii) their transmission from the Prophet by reliable persons of known identity and established reliability of every generation, each of them stating the name of his authority;
- iv) their transmission by any one of the three classes of transmitters just mentioned, not from the Prophet, but from a person belonging to the generation next to the Prophet, the earliest transmitter being silent about the source of his information;
- v) their transmission by any of the various classes of persons mentioned above, from the Prophet himself, but having in the chain of the transmitters a person who is known either to be a liar, or to be careless in his statement, or to be one whose reliability has been questioned; and
- vi) their transmission by a chain of transmitters similar to that in the first three classes, but stopping either at a Companion or at a Follower or at any Imām after them who did not make any reference to the Prophet, in his statement.

<sup>1</sup> *MLJ*, v. 88.

We do not know, on the other hand, the names of those who were the authors of the *Iqad* which we are now studying. Ibn Hazm has not said a word about them, as has the Christian and the Jew. He has said that the famous classes of transmission of the *Hadith* written in the Christian as well as in the Jewish countries. According to him these two classes were composed of Old Testament and the New Testament. The *Iqad* of Ibn Hazm goes far back to Moses. Further, it says that the *Iqad* was generally used at the latter is finally based on the *Hadith* of two persons the reliability of each of whom is not a question. Also, the third class of *Iqad* is the *Iqad* that is a special feature of the Islamic period. The last two classes of *Iqad*, however, are not completely correct. Ibn Hazm is wrong as to Jewish literature. The *Iqad* of the last two classes is particularly frequent in the Jewish countries. We are only an example of it, viz. the *Iqad* of the responsibility of divorce is to be found in the Christian literature. As regards the last two classes of *Iqad*, Ibn Hazm observes that they are found in the *Iqad* of the Christian countries of the Christians as well as in the *Iqad* of the Jews. He has also given certain details of the titles of the *Iqad* in the form of transmission found in Islamic countries and those used by the Christians and the Jews.

It is clear, however, that not only the main results of the research of Harsvitz, but also some of their details, but have anticipated and observed eight centuries before him. As regards the comment of Harsvitz that the system of *Iqad* was used by the Jews as early as the Mosaic period, it is certainly open to grave doubts to which Ibn Hazm has added. Harsvitz has not proved that these *Iqad* are not later interpolations.

The Indians also used the system of *Iqad* long before the Muslim. But as far as I am aware, no serious notice of this fact has so far been taken. It was for the first time pointed out to me by my late friend Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, the Vice-Chancellor of the Vya-Bharati University, India. According to him, occasional use of the *Iqad* is found in the

ascent Indian literature. Here, Buddha was seen as Jñāna. In the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, he is called *Viśvadev* and at Guatama is called *Devadeva*, and the work was translated down by Vasubandhu, who contributed to the *King's Treasury* (*Śāstra*). Saichō who was present at the ceremony heard it and extracted it to the assembly of saigō.<sup>1</sup> The *Parāṇa* also contains some short *līnads*. The *Sūtra* (except for Vajra literature) contain short chains of some of the transmitters through whom they have been handed down. In the *Saichō-kyō* (*Shingon-kyō*) translated by Kōchō (pp. 24-25) and the *Hōshō-kyō* (*Shingon-kyō*) translated *Sacred Book of the Heart* (vol. 10, pp. 24-25) the long lines of the successive teachers of the texts are given. In the first case, we get a list of 26 teachers, and in the latter case out of several, only the longest is of 20 teachers. In the Buddhist literature in the early period, no chain of the transmitters *līnad* is to be found. The text is almost always introduced with the common formula: 'Thus I heard once the Lord so uttered at...'<sup>2</sup> But in the later literature, long chains of transmitters are frequent particularly in such Sanskrit Buddhist texts as are preserved in Tibetan translation. The colophon of the *Yōmeigyo-kyō* (T. 100, p. 1) contains the following chain of its successive transmitters:

Buddha Vajrabhāsa Nagārjuna Nagabodhi Anandana  
Chandrakīrti Śaṅkaraseta Ratnamitra Dharmatātra  
Gomamati Manjushrīmanā Anūghasrī Ananāśa  
Vijayakīrti Varaprakāśhar-matādra Śrībhādra  
Dharmapāta Sakyalāraṇa Vajrasarakīrti Ratnakar  
Vanaratna and Dharmabuddhi.

The last mentioned of these transmitters, who came from Eastern India, translated the text from Sanskrit into Tibetan by the order of the master of Ron, with the assistance of Manjusrimata, a Tibetan scholar from Stag-tshan, Tibet.<sup>3</sup>

More important than the question of the origin of *līnad* for our purpose, however, is to determine the period of its first

1. Nih. Book 2, canto 1-3; Ht. 1, 1-2.

2. Ht. 1, 14, 6a-7.

3. C.E.F., 10, 165.



opinion of *Hadith*. Cattan even holds that al-Zuhri regarded *Hadith* as the first appearance of *Hadith* and that it was first collected by his pupil, Mu'adh b. al-Ja'fi (AH 73?) and Ibn Ishac (d. 151-60) and others. According to Cattan, therefore, *Hadith* traditions began and developed during the last half of the second century AH. On the other hand, Havaizi states that the first appearance of *Hadith* in *Hadith* was at the turn of the first third of the first century AH. Havaizi, however, in support of his theory, he says: "*Hadith* in its primary form was then somewhere about the turn of AH—already established—and one has no reason to say so since it appears only incidentally in the books of *Hadith*. Few, who according to Cattan never used *Hadith* without further consideration, these *Hadith* sources with the certainty of authority for which he stands as a specimen. *Hadith* was indeed already customary in his. It was thus *Hadith* was not an absolute necessity."<sup>3</sup>

But J. Scheele distinctly holds opinion that *Hadith* is the most arbitrary part of traditions<sup>4</sup> and that there is no reason to suppose that the regular practice of using *Hadith* is older than the beginning of the second century AH.<sup>5</sup> He has not discussed the first appearance of *Hadith* in *Hadith*. He has quoted the well known remark of Ibn Sirin about the beginning of *Hadith* to *Hadith*.<sup>6</sup> He interprets the word *fitna* used by Ibn Sirin as referring to the civil war which began with the killing of the Umayyad caliph, Walid b. Yazid (126 AH). On taking into consideration the date of Ibn Sirin's death (110 AH), Scheele regards the remark attributed to him as spurious. But his interpretation of the term *fitna* is arbitrary, and his opinion about the spuriousness of the statement made by Ibn Sirin is unwarranted. Prof. Robson has ques-

(1) *Anta*, i, 31.

(2) *Der Islam*, viii, 43-44.

(3) *Id.*, i, 300-3.

(4) OMJ, 63.

(5) *Ibid.* 57.

(6) OMJ, 6.

tioned. Schäfer's opinion – and remarks that it is during the middle of the first century of Islam that one could first expect any thing like an *Isnād*.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to assign with certainty a definite period to the first appearance of *Fiqh* in *Hadith*. But here we hold that the period by which *Fiqh* as *Hadith* was introduced by *Rabban* are very near to what is claimed by the early traditionists. *Da'ud* is reported to have said that at least, proper use was made of the *Fiqh* before the time of the *Disturbance of the* *Hadith* by *Da'ud*. The *Disturbance* in his records is dated by *Muhammad* to refer to the civil war between *Abu* and *Muhammad* which began in the year 30 A.H. *Abu* himself is reported to have revised the contents of *Hadith*. *Wahab* is reported to have written a book, the *Fiqh*.<sup>2</sup> *Abu* *Hand* *Abd al-Rahman* a *Companion* who must have died before the end of the first century of the H. is reported to have written his students with the *Hadith* and they failed to give the *Fiqh* while recording a tradition.<sup>3</sup> From these facts and from the great number of the important *Companions* it may be rightly be inferred that the *Fiqh* of *Hadith* being applied to tradition before the middle of the first century of the H. was considered to be a necessary part of it before the century ended.

Be it as it may, there is no doubt that having taken it as a starting-point, the Muslims came to consider the *Fiṣṭa* as an indispensable part of traditions, developed it a great deal, gave it a firm foundation—by introducing to it the chronological method and concerning the biographies of the transmitters, which serve as a basis for the criticism of their narrations, and by establishing various principles for concerning the value of its different classes. The *Fiṣṭa* has, so far as it is known, never met any attempt towards the scientific treatment of the *Fiṣṭa* nor its

4. The  $\mathbb{R}$ -algebra  $\mathcal{A}$  is a  $\mathbb{C}$ -algebra.

2) MIL. v. 454.

[illegible]

they knew to have developed the chronological method. In the early literature of the Jews also there is no idea of the chronological method which rendered their early *Ibnad* valueless. In the Islamic literature, says Prof. Horowitz, there is no chronological method, and the oldest extant work ascribing such arrangement was composed after 500 A.D. more than a century later than the earliest Islamic work of *Ibnad* type. From this fact, he concludes, "and from the fact that the important Jewish works of this period had been composed in the Islamic dominions, it may be inferred that this historical interest of the Jews was due to the Islamic influence".<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims not only gave a scientific form and basis to the science of *Ibnad* but also tried to make a comparative study of the various *Ibnad* used in *Hadith* literature with a view to ascertaining a relative value. It is said that Ahmad b. Hanbal, Ibn Ma'in and Imam Muslim once assembled together some *shaykhs* and *qutabs* and discussed the most reliable *Ibnad*. One of them said that the best *Ibnad* was Shu'ba-  
 Qatib Sa'idi, Umar-Umar, Sulaym. Ali b. al-Madini held that the best one was Ibn Umar-Muhammad Ubayda. Ali-Yunus. Hisham was of the opinion that the best *Ibnad* was of Zuhri-Sulaym. Abd. Allah b. Umar. A Bukhari, however, was of the opinion that the best *Ibnad* was Malik-Nafi-Din Umar. In this *list* the later traditionists have added the names of a Shu'ba, al-A'udub, Hisham, making it even longer chain than Ahmad's opinion on Umar. They gave it the title of 'the golden chain'. This chain, however, is rare in *Hadith* literature. In the work of the *Ma'ad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal, in spite of its large size, there were not to be found, says Sayuti,<sup>2</sup> more than four traditions with this *Ibnad*.

Prof. Schacht has questioned the authenticity of many of these *Ibnad* also. He strikes the 'golden chain' on the

(1) *Der Islam*, viii, 47.

(2) *TR*, 20-21.

(3) *FM*, 8-10.

(4) *TR*, 20.

grounds that Malik being too young at the time of Nafi's death, could not have passed from the latter; and, secondly, that it is a very *long* *Isnād* according to Sa'adhi. It is open to doubt.<sup>1</sup> But Sa'adhi's arguments are open to serious criticism because Malik was, according to Sa'adhi himself,<sup>2</sup> about 25 years of age at the time of Nafi's death, and was therefore quite in a position to hear from him. As for the spuriousness of the family *Isnād* in general, it is only a matter of opinion.

Ibn Ma'in considered Ubaid Allāh-bn 'Umar Qāsim 'A'ishah to be the best *Isnād*, and called it a chain of pure gold.<sup>3</sup> Many other text-masters have selected certain other chains as the most reliable of them. But the consensus of opinion of the later traditionists in general is that it is impossible to call any *Isnād* the best one in the whole of *Hadith* literature. The judgment of the various authorities about it, therefore, must refer to the traditions accepted on the authority of a particular Companion or follower or to the traditions of a particular place.<sup>4</sup> Some of the traditionists, however, have also tried to point out the weakest *Isnād*. They hold that Mu'aww K'ab Abū S'f'ar H'ayy Adī is the weakest one, and they call it a 'false' *Isnād*.<sup>5</sup>

Having been introduced into *Hadith*, the system of *Isnād* was not only continued for more than four centuries in the narration of every individual tradition, but was also applied to the books on traditions and on the connected subjects since the time of their compilation. Every teacher of every book on *Hadith* or on a subject connected with it at every period in the history of *Hadith* literature gave in every page and against every line of the books or parts of the books his students the name of the teachers through whom he had received it from

(1) OMJ, 170, 176.

(2) See his article on Malik b. Anas in FLE.

(3) TA, 307.

(4) TR, 22-23.

(5) MSr, II, 247, fn. 2.



has been described by C. H. Becker *Paper & Pencil: Richard L. Herdendorf*, 1966.<sup>1</sup> It is dated Dhu al-Qa'ah 220 July 811 and tests on it up to *I nad* upto its author.

The practice of giving the *I nad* was certainly useful and essential for keeping up the authenticity of a book in an age when printing was not known, and when the copies of a book consisted only of manuscripts made by individual persons who could make changes and commit errors in the works of authors of established reputation. But in modern times, with the appearance of the printing press and the multiplicity of copies and editions, it has been rendered needless and useless. But human nature is conservative. Even orthodox institutions still persist in it. No scholar, however competent, is supposed to have a right to touch a book on *Hadith* for which he has not received the necessary permission from a competent teacher. And competency consists only in receiving a permission from a teacher who possesses a similar permission from his own teacher. As a matter of fact, the whole system of teaching, particularly of *Hadith*, in India and so far as I know in the whole Islamic world has been reduced to mere formality. Very few of the teachers possess any knowledge of the *Am'l al-Rijal*—a subject so essential for a study of *Hadith*.

According to the traditionists, the *I nad* of books had to be put down on their manuscripts also. They held that it was advisable for the students to write on their manuscripts of a book after *Bismillah* the names of their teachers together with their *Amma* and *ma ba*, and the names of the teachers of their teachers upto the author of the book himself. Above the *Bismillah*, or on the first page of a manuscript, or at any other prominent part of it, should be put down the list of the other students who read the book in the same class together with the owner of the manuscripts, and the places and the times or dates where and when the various parts of it were read by them. The names of all the students who attended

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Otto Spies for a copy of p. 2 of Becker's article. For additional information see 'Wahab b. Munabbih' J. H. Royston, *EtC.*



the lectures with the teacher should ~~be~~ be written on the margin of the manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that the numbers, the place and dates of lectures and the names of students are found in a large number of the manuscripts on our subject which are still preserved in many of the important libraries in the East and in the West. The manuscript of the *Maṣnūʿ* of Abū Dāwūd al-Hakīm,<sup>2</sup> the *Ṣunṇ al-Ḍaym*<sup>3</sup> of al-Maṭrī, *Kawāṣir al-Faṣḥ*<sup>4</sup>, the *Kawāṣir al-Kawāṣir*<sup>5</sup> of the four volumes of the *Ṭarīḥ al-Jamāl*,<sup>6</sup> and of many other works on our subject in the O. P. Library at Princeton, and the manuscript of the *Ṣunṇ* of Abū Dāwūd in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin, are good examples of this. A large number of other manuscripts of the type may be easily found only by the study of the *introductions* of the various important abridges.<sup>7</sup> Of course there are also manuscripts which contain only a few or none of the recorded notes mentioned above. These are defective manuscripts from which the parts concerning the above notes have either not or are very seldom been copied by common scribes for the use of laymen, not specialists in the subject. This practice of making a use of the above particulars on the copy of a series of manuscripts appears to have been in vogue among the traditionists since the second century of the Hijra. Hāshim Ḥusayn (d. 1945/50), the well known jurist, is said to have decided a case on its basis. Fakh al-Bayḥaqī (d. 1110) is said to have forbidden the traditionist to keep back the certificate of a student from him. al-Zahiri (d. 1232/41), the famous traditionist, is also stated to have expressed the same view.<sup>8</sup>

(1) *MIS*, vol. IV, p. 131; *IM*, vol. 1.

(2) *CP*, vol. 1, No. 233.

(3) *Ibid.* No. 234.

(4) *Ibid.* part 2, No. 22.

(5) *Ibid.* No. 303.

(6) *Ibid.* vol. 1, No. 200.

(7) *ʿArḍat al-Ḥayāt al-Ḥadīṡiyya*, vol. 1, No. 246.

(8), e.g. *ʿat al-Bī Maṣnūʿ*, pp. 15, 90, 16, etc.

(9) *MIS*, 22.

So far as I have been able to investigate the matter, the manuscripts of the sciences of *Hadith* and *concerning* subjects are almost unique in supplying us with all these interesting details which are of immense value in determining the genuineness of these records of the past, just as Islamic traditions are unique in the thorough and systematic use of the system of giving the chain of transmitters. The Greek, the Latin, the Hebrew and the Syriac manuscripts, so far as I can judge by the perusal of their catalogues, do not even compare with these materials. The Indian manuscripts in certain cases contain a long list of teachers through whom they have been received. But they never give us the detailed list which we have described, and which we find in the manuscripts on our subjects.

These particulars found in the copy of a manuscript are of enormous importance to a modern scholar. They provide a means of determining its genuineness and authenticity. In order to determine its value of such data, one has to take the actual external features which are so many of such value as the internal evidence of a manuscript itself. About the Greek manuscripts, for example, it is almost impossible to affirm with moderate certainty that a particular manuscript is a completely genuine copy of a book composed by an author thousands of years ago.

The system of *Ishad* however being introduced into Arabic literature in connection with individual traditions and their collections, was extended by the Arabic authors to many other branches of it, e.g. geography, history, fiction, etc.<sup>1</sup> There are works, says Prof. Marguerite, of which the subject-matter is so trivial as that one marvels at the trouble taken by the author to record the name of each transmitter.

1. Many Arabic Manuscripts of other Islamic traditions, however, some of the same mention the names of the transmitters. See e.g. Les certificats De Lecture Et De l'enseignement Dans Les Manuscrits Arabes De La Bibliothèque Nationale De Paris (Paris, 1907). See pp. 37 ff.

matter and the date and place at which he heard the narrative, in example is the *Ma'ani al-Li'lah* of al-Sarrāj, a collection of cases when men and women are supposed to have died of love, where the author records with minute accuracy the date at which he heard the story and gives similar details of the transmitters".<sup>1</sup>

In the use of the *Isnad* therefore Arabic literature is certainly unique. Referring to its use in the Arabic historical works Houtsma writes: "This form of historic composition is unique in the case of the Arabic historiography—namely to go back to the source and trace the line of authorities".<sup>2</sup>

#### 6 THE PART PLAYED BY WOMEN IN THE TRANSMISSION AND CULTIVATION OF HADITH AND HADITH LITERATURE

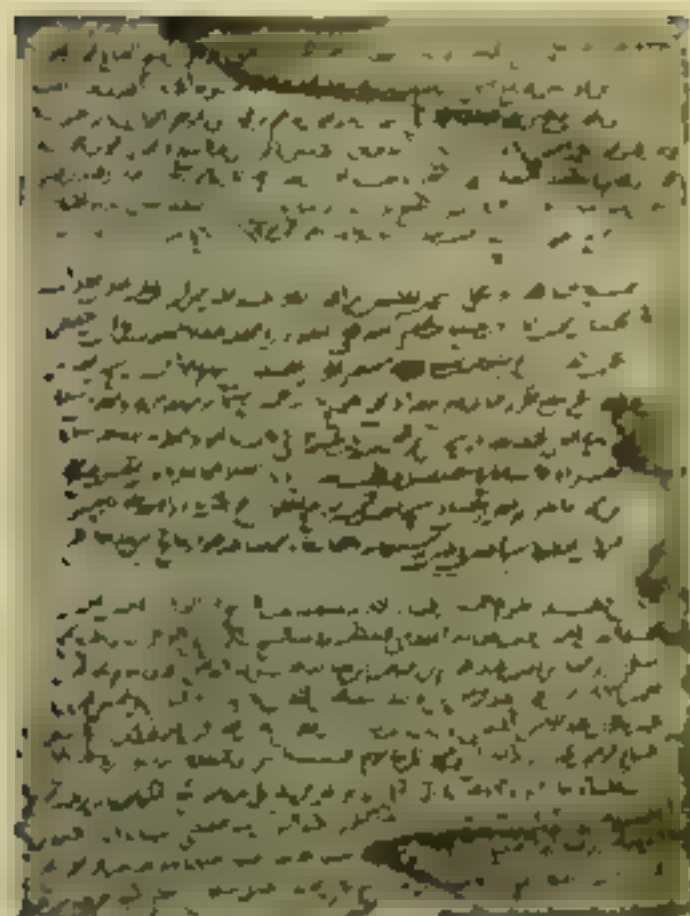
There are few sciences in the evolution and cultivation of which the women took an important part together with the men. The science of *Hadith* is an outstanding exception in this respect. Since the earliest history of Islam, the women-traditionists had been taking prominent part in the preservation and cultivation of *Hadith* and at every stage in the development of *Hadith* literature, they took keen and lively interest in it. At every period in its history, there lived numerous eminent women traditionists before whom many of their prominent brethren bowed down with reverence and respect. Short biographical notices of many of them are found in many works on the *Asma' al-Rijal*, the last parts of which generally deal with the women-traditionists.

During the life-time of the Prophet, many of the women had been not only the cause of the evolution of many traditions, but also their transmitters to their brethren in faith. After the Prophet's death, many women Companions—particularly, his wives—were looked upon as important custodians of 'knowledge', and were approached for instruction in the subject by its enthusiastic students, to whom they

(1) *Arabia*, p. 1.

(2) *OIS* intro., p. 3.

# ILLUSTRATION (2)



By courtesy of the Secretary, A. P. Library  
Bankipore Patna

readily opened the rich store which they had gathered in the company of their Holy Prophet and guide. The names of Hafsā, Umm Habiba, Muḥabbah, Umm Salīm and ʿĀshah are familiar to every student of *Hadith* as some of the earliest transmitters.<sup>1</sup> In particular, ʿĀshah is one of the most important figures in the whole history of *Hadith* literature, not only as one of the earliest reporters of the largest number of *Hadith*, but also as one of the most careful interpreters of them.<sup>2</sup>

In the next following period—the period of the Followers—also, women held important positions as traditionists. Hafsā, the daughter of Ibn Sirīn,<sup>3</sup> Umm al-Dardāʾ, the younger of al-Aḥlī,<sup>4</sup> and ʿĀmra, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, are only a few of the women-traditionists of this period. Umm al-Dardāʾ was held by Iwās b. Maʿwāyah an important traditionist of the time and a judge of recognized ability and merit, to be superior to all the traditionists of that period—including the celebrated masters of *Hadith* like al-Ḥasan and Ibn Sirīn.<sup>5</sup> ʿĀmra was considered to be a great authority on traditions related by ʿĀshah. Among her students, Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, the celebrated judge of Medina, was ordered by the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to write down all the traditions known to her.<sup>6</sup>

After them, ʿĀbidat al-Maḥāṣibīyah, ʿĀbida the daughter of Bashīr, Umm ʿUmar al-Farqīṣiyah, Zayyah the grand daughter of ʿĀṭī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, Nafīsan the daughter of Ḥasan b. Zayd, Khadijah Umm Muḥammad ʿĀbida the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and several other members of the fair sex excelled in and delivered lectures on our subject. Some of them—rising from humble origins, or descending from high families—also acquired mastery of this subject. For example, ʿĀbida who was a slave girl of

(1) See *supra* pp. 23, 31.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) TIS viii, 303.

(4) TR, 215.

(5) TIS viii, 303.

Muhammad b. Yazid had learned a good deal of traditions with the teacher in Madinah. She was given by her master to Habb al-Dhahab, the great traditionist of Spain, when he visited the holy city in quest of an inheritance. Habb al-Dhahab was captivated by her learning and took her as his wife and brought her to Andalus. It is said that she related 1000 traditions in the company of her Maliki teachers.<sup>1</sup> Zayd b. al-Hadrami, the teacher of Sulayman, was a pious, pious by birth. His father was a cousin of al-Saffah, the founder of the Abbasid dynasty and had been a governor of Basra. On his death his property was divided. al-Mansur,<sup>2</sup> Zayd's nephew, received the property in *Hadrah*, was entrusted with the teaching and was with traditionists of her time. He collected a large number of important men traditionists.<sup>3</sup>

During the period the women were men in the narration of *Hadrah* and the teaching of it. At the important times of the traditions, the teachers and the receivers were all men. A tradition from a woman *Hadrah* is very important and is not only a tradition but also the source of many women is important authorities of the *Hadrah*. Among the chapters of the *Hadrah* are the traditions of the women. However the women traditionists required many of the books of these works and collected the traditions of the *Hadrah* were attended by a large number of students, men and women, and many important men traditionists met at their feet and learned from them.

In the fourth century, Fatima b. al-Fadl (d. 362), the daughter of Abu al-Bakr al-Madani known as Salim al-Mystic on account of her ascetic life, died. Fatima the grand daughter of Abu Bakr was the compiler of the well known *Sunan* work, Abu al-Walid al-Buhārī (d. 255) the daughter of al-Muharrir, the celebrated Imam, Usayn al-Fadl, Abu al-Salim (d. 390/

(1) NF, ii, 96.

(2) GT, 430.

(3) TB, xiv, 434 f.



999, the daughter of Abu Bakr Al-madani d. 390/991, the judge, Fatima, the daughter of Ahmad, and some other women acquired excellence in tradition and delivered lectures on the subject which were attended by a good many students.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifth and sixth centuries of the Hijra several women gained reputation as traditionists. Fatima, the daughter of the well known mystic Hasan b. Ali al-Darirji and wife of the famous Muslim divine Abu al-Qasim al-Qasbi, was celebrated not only for her mastery of calligraphy but also for her mastery of traditions and for the high *Umad* she had for them.<sup>2</sup> Karimah al-Marwaziyyah d. 408/1070, the daughter of Ahmad, was considered to be the best authority on the *Shahih* of al-Bukhari in her time. Abu Dharr of Hira, one of the greatest traditionists of the time, attached great importance to her authority and advised the students of *Hadith* to read the great *Shahih* with her, because she had received it with the *Umad* of Hasan b. Ali. As a great woman traditionist, she is reported to have related traditions to several important Muslim divines.<sup>3</sup> 'As a matter of fact', writes Goldziher, 'her name occurs with extraordinary frequency in the *Ijazas* (certificates granted to students for narrating the text of the book *Shahih al-Bukhari*).'<sup>4</sup> It occurs in the *Ijazat* of Abū al-Mahāsini and with her the book was read by al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, the celebrated biographer of the eminent men of Baghdad,<sup>5</sup> and al-Hamawi, 428-428 A.H., the famous traditionist of Andalusia.<sup>6</sup>

Not only Karimah, but several women traditionists, according to Goldziher, took very prominent part in the history of the transmission of the *Shahih*.<sup>7</sup> Among these four transmitters of the text of the *Shahih*, Fatimah d. 539/1144,

(1) TB, xiv, 441-44.

(2) S-ID, v, 48. WA, No. 4. Fatima died in 408/1047.

(3) NT, i, 87.

(4) MSc, ii, 405-40.

(5) MU, i, 242.

(6) OPC, v, i, pp. 9-1.

(7) MSc, ii, 405.

the daughter of Miḥammad, Shuhda (d. 571/1178), the daughter of Ahmad b. al-Faraj, Sitt al-Wuzarā' (d. 716/1316), the daughter of 'Umar were especially celebrated.<sup>1</sup> Fātimah narrated the book on the authority of the great traditionist Sa'īd al-Ayyar, and she was given by the traditionists the proud title of *Umm al-Ḥadīth*, the great authority in Ḥadīth. Shuhda was a celebrated calligrapher and a traditionist of great reputation. She has been described by the biographers as 'the calligrapher, the great authority on *Ḥadīth* and the pride of womanhood'. Her great grandfather was a dealer in needles and was therefore known as al-Ibrī. But her father, Abū Nāṣir (c. 500/1112), had acquired taste for *Ḥadīth*, and studied it with several masters of the subject.<sup>2</sup> He gave his daughter sound education in traditions, which she also studied with many competent teachers of established reputation, and gave her in marriage to 'Alī b. Muḥammad, an important person at the time. As I had some literary taste, and at a later period he became a boon companion of the caliph al-Muqtaḍir, he founded a college and a madrasa, and made large endowments on them. His wife, Shuhda, however, gained reputation as a traditionist, and was noted for her high *Ḥadīth*.<sup>3</sup> Her lectures on *Sahih al-Bukhārī* and other works on *Ḥadīth* were attended by a large crowd of students, and on account of her great reputation, some people even falsely claimed to have been her disciples.<sup>4</sup> Again, Sitt al-Wuzarā' was known as the *Muḥaddithah* of her time, and she delivered lectures on *Sahih al-Bukhārī* and other works in Egypt and at Damascus.<sup>5</sup> Lectures on the *Sahih* were also delivered by Umm al-Khayr Amat al-Khaṭṭāb (B. I. 91, c. 1093-1505) who was the last great authority of the school of the Hujjiz.<sup>6</sup> 'A'ishah the daughter of Abul al-Ḥādī also lectured on the great book.<sup>7</sup>

(1) ShD, iv, 123, 248.

(2) KIA, x, 346.

(3) WA, No. 295.

(4) MSt, ii, 406.

(5) ShD, vi, 40.

(6) *Ibid.* viii, 14.

(7) KI, 36.

The study of the *Isna* of the traditionists, of the works on the *Isna al-Rijal* and of the colophons of the manuscripts of the works of *Hadith*, shows that the women traditionists of various periods read out to their students not only the *Sahih* of al-Bukhārī but also many other works on the subject. Umm al-Khayr Fatimah (d. 52/115) the daughter of Abi and Fāṭima al-Shuḥayyāh delivered lectures on the *Sahih* of Muslim<sup>1</sup>. Fatimah al-Jazdī (d. 53/1129) narrated to her students the three *Muḥajj* of al-Jabāwī<sup>2</sup>. Zaynab of Harran (d. 698/1269) whose lectures attracted a large crowd of students read with them the *Muḥad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal, the largest known collection of traditions<sup>3</sup>. Jawāriyat (d. 783/1381) the daughter of 'Umar and Zaynab (d. 722/1322) the daughter of Ahmad b. 'Umar, who had travelled widely in pursuit of *Hadith* and delivered lectures in Egypt as well as at Madinah, narrated to her students the collections of al-Darīq and of Abū Ḥanāfah, and vigorously travelled far and wide in order to attend her discourses<sup>4</sup>. Zaynab (d. 740/1339) the daughter of Ahmad, generally known as Kunāl, had acquired a camel load of *ḥadīth*, she delivered lectures on the *Muḥad* of Abū Ḥanīfah, the *Shamā'il* of al-Firmīdhī, and on the *Sharḥ Ma'ān al-Ḥikmah* of al-Jabāwī, the last of which she had read with another woman traditionist, Ajibah, the daughter of Abū Bakr<sup>5</sup>. "On her authority is based", says Goldziher, "the authenticity of the Gotha manuscript in which occur the names of numerous other women who studied it"<sup>6</sup>. With her and various other women, the great traveller, Ibn Battūta, studied traditions during his stay at Damascus<sup>7</sup>. The famous biographer of the celebrated men of Damascus, Ibn al-Aṣkār, who had received

1. SbD, iv, 100.

2. KI, 16.

3. KU, 286.

4. ShD, vi, 56.

5. *Ibid.* 126; KI, 14, 18, QT, 73.

(6) MSt, ii, 407.

(7) *Voyages d'Ibn Battoutah*. Éd. C. Defremery et al. Paris, 1843 p. 23.

instruction in *Hadith* from more than 1200 men and from 80 women traditionists. Of the *Ura* of Zaynab the daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān, the *Mu* and *Mihk*.<sup>1</sup> Jari' al-Dīn Su'ūfi read the *Riḥat* of al-Shayḥ with Hajar the daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān.<sup>2</sup> 'Atīf al-Dīn Jānī, a traditionist of the 14th century A.H. read the *Sawā'id* of al-Dīnawarī with Fatima the daughter of 'Abd al-Baqī Qasbi.<sup>3</sup>

In the seventh century of the H. a few many women traditionists gave their mark as teachers of *Hadith*. Some of them have already been mentioned. Some others who were as less prominent are Zaynab bint 'Iṣṣāq (524-615 A.H.)<sup>4</sup> and Karamah (c. 641-1700).<sup>5</sup> Sayyidat al-Zaynab daughter of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and Zaynab al-Gawziyya the daughter of al-Makki.

Zaynab bint 'Iṣṣāq studied *Hadith* with several important teachers. She delivered lectures to many students and attained a great reputation as literary man. e.g. Ibn Kathīr, the author of the well known biographical dictionary, *Bihar al-Sunna*.<sup>6</sup> Karamah is described by the biographers as the author of *Sawā'id al-Shayḥ*. She preserved her own many works on *Hadith* on the authority of many as narrators.<sup>7</sup> Zaynab the daughter of al-Makki gained great reputation as a traditionist and found her flocked together a large crowd of students in order to attend her learned discourses.

The eighth and ninth centuries were extremely rich in women traditionists. A large number of those of the eighth century are mentioned by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī in his biographical dictionary of the prominent men and women

<sup>1</sup> *Mān*, v, 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Mān*, 174.

<sup>3</sup> *OPC*, v, 1, pp. 175-6.

<sup>4</sup> *W.A.*, No. 279.

<sup>5</sup> *S.D.*, v, 2, 2, 404.

of this period *al-Durr al-Hamamah* on which is mainly based the sixth volume of Ibn Hajar's *Sharḥ al-Dhahab*, a large biographical dictionary of the prominent traditionists from the first to the tenth centuries of the Hijra. Various manuscripts of the *Durr* are preserved in different libraries in the East and in the West, and it has been published by the Dar al-Ma'arif, Hildesheim, Germany. In this work Ibn Hajar has given short biographical notices of about 170 prominent women of the eighth century, most of whom were traditionists and with many of whom the author himself had contact. Goldziher was struck by the large number of women to whom the author had devoted his various articles. Some of these women are recognized as the best traditionists of the period. For example, Juwayriyah the daughter of Ahmad to whom we have already referred, studied sciences were in addition with many important traditionists of the time. These included men as well as women. Hajar mastered the subject; she delivered lectures to many students. Some of my teachers," says Ibn Hajar, "and many of my contemporaries attended her discourses." <sup>(1)</sup> *Al-Shah* (d. 783/1381 A.H.) the daughter of 'Abd al-Hadi, with whom Ibn Hajar studied for a considerable time, was considered to be the best traditionist of her time. A large number of students undertook long journeys in order to attend her discourses.<sup>(2)</sup> Sa'id al-Arabi (d. 760/1358) had been the teacher of the well-known traditionist, al-'Iraqi (d. 742/1341) and of al-Haythami and many others who derived a good deal of their knowledge from her. Her student al-'Iraqi also presented his son to her for instruction.<sup>(3)</sup> Daqqa (d. 16/1445) the daughter of Muḥammad a celebrated woman traditionist of the time, had received instruction from numerous women traditionists. One of her teachers was the daughter of Ahmad to whom we have already referred. Many other traditionists belonging to the eighth century have been mentioned by Ibn Hajar and 'Abd

(1) MSt, ii, 406.

(2) DK, i, No. 1472.

(3) ShD, vii, 120 f.

(4) Ibid. vi, 208.

a-Haṣṣy, Ibn al-Dīn, to whose works reference may be made by those who may be interested in the subject.

Of the numerous traditions of the new century, however, none have been mentioned by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān at Sikkat (130-397-1427-1492) in his *al-Ḥaṣṣy al-Fannī*, in which he has collected together all the biographical notices of the eminent persons of the period 1400-1500 A.H. It has been summarized by 'Abd al-Sattār by 'Umar b. al-Shaykh (1) and a defective manuscript of the work of the latter is preserved in the O.P. Library of Paris (2). 'Abd al-Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Ismā'īl (1426-1519-1496) also in his *Maṣā'ir al-Awṣāth* compiled in 891 A.H. and devoted to the biographical notices of more than 1100 teachers of religion, has mentioned more than 150 women; the literarists were avoided in this special case, and with whom he had studied (3). 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dīn al-Sayyidī was a traditionist. Some of them were recognized to be among the best traditionists of their time, and some of their students have been acknowledged to be among the most celebrated custodians of *Ḥadīth* in the next generation. 'Umar II b. Muḥyī (778-861-1355-1406) the daughter of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad, for example, having got the *Qur'ān* by heart in her childhood, and having learnt the various Islamic sciences in vogue at that time, pursued the study of *Ḥadīth* with the best traditionists of her age at Mecca and Cairo. She was celebrated for her mastery of philology, for her command on the Arabic language, for her natural aptitude for Poetry, and for her mastery of traditions. She was noted for her piety and strict observance of religious duties. She fasted very often, and performed pilgrimage thirteen times. Her son was a noted Muslim scholar of the tenth century, he had great respect for her, and constantly attended her about the later part of her life. She regularly delivered lectures on *Ḥadīth*, and gave *Ijtihād* to many scholars. Ibn Fādh read with her a few works on the

(1) GAL, Sup. 2, p. 34.

(2) OPC, xii, No. 727 a.

(3) *Ibid.*



subject.<sup>1</sup> Bāṭ al-Khān (d. 804-1149) the daughter of Abū al-Ḥasan, having studied traditions with Abū Bakr al-Mizzī, the chief of the younger and more numerous of the Hanafis, and having received the *ḥja* of a great number of masters of *Ḥadīth* both in al-Hama and elsewhere, delivered lectures on the subject in Syria and Egypt. She is said to have been kind of teaching.<sup>2</sup> Aḥmad (704-81-1348-1188) the daughter of Ibn al-Ḥayy, generally known as Ibn al-Sinnāḍ, studied a good deal of traditions at Cairo, Damascus and other places. She delivered lectures on the *ḥja* which were attended by many people of sciences.<sup>3</sup> Umm al-Khayr Sūḍā al-Muḥallabī (d. 873-1116) received her knowledge of *Ḥadīth* from numerous traditions of places where she spent and gained reputation as an authority on traditions.<sup>4</sup>

So far as may be gathered from the available sources on the subject, the interest of women in traditions appears to have declined considerably from the tenth century of the *Ḥijra*. The *al-Awḥ al-Sayyid* of Aḥmad al-Muḥallabī, the *al-Ḥudūd* of al-Muḥallabī, and the *al-Siḥab al-Bāḥi* of al-Muḥallabī (Abd al-ʿAlī al-Najafī) are biographical dictionaries of the eminent persons of the tenth, the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the *Ḥijra* respectively, hardly contain the names of more than a dozen prominent women traditionists. But it would be wrong to conclude that since the tenth century, the women entirely lost interest in our subject. Some women traditionists, who had gained reputation in the ninth century, lived till about the first quarter of the tenth century, and they continued their services to our subject. Aḥmad (911-1198) the daughter of Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā wielded great influence with the Sultāns and their officials to whom she often made recommendations which were always accepted by them. She delivered lectures on *Ḥadīth* and trained women in various Islamic sciences.<sup>5</sup> Aḥmad (1196-1200

(1) DL, xii, No. 980.

(2) *Ibid.* No. 58.

(3) *Ibid.* No. 450.

(4) *Ibid.* No. 901.

(5) NS, 49.

the daughter of Muhammad b. Ali *ra* and wife of Muslim al-Dimashqi, page 16. Her home was to many students, including Ibn al-Jawzi *ra* (p. 17). Later on she was appointed as a professor in the Salamiyya College in Damascus.<sup>1</sup> (Damashq, 1020-1030/1610-1620) The teacher of Yūsuf al-Akops was known as one of the excellent teachers of her time. Umar al-Kayrawani rated *ḥafṣa* as one of two pilgrims of Mecca in the year 938/1531.<sup>2</sup>

The first important woman traditionist known to us was Ḥasanat b. Isḥāq *ra*, who is also known as al-Shaykh al-Ḥadīthiyah. She was born before the end of the twelfth century, acquired excellence in the art of calligraphy and in the various Islamic sciences. She copied and collected a number of books. She had a special interest in *ḥadīth*, read *ḥadīth* and had on the subject received the diplomas of a *muḥaddith* and a *muḥaddithah* and acquired good reputation as a traditionist. About the end of her life she went to Mecca where she settled down and founded a rich public library. Her library attracted many eminent traditionists who attended her courses and received certificates from her. Among them Shaykh Umar al-Shamī and Shaykh Muḥammad Saḍī al-Sakhāwī may be particularly mentioned. She died in 1247/1831.<sup>3</sup>

These two traditionists of Isfahān as one may see from what has been said did not confine their activities to a personal study of traditions or to the private teaching of a few advanced pupils, but they took their status as students as well as teachers in public educational institutions very seriously with their brethren. They attended general classes jointly with the men traditionists and in turn delivered lectures to large classes which were attended by men as well as women students. The contents of many of manuscripts which are still preserved in many libraries show them both as students

1. Ibid. see OPC, xii, No. 10001.

Ibid.

3. MSn, p. 40.

4. al-Shaykh al-Ḥadīthiyah see OPC, xii, No. 733.

## ILLUSTRATION 3/4 ■

ILLUSTRATION 406

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Persian or Urdu, covering the main body of the page. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines, with varying degrees of indentation and some larger, possibly decorative or emphasized, characters interspersed. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

# ILLUSTRATION 3(1)c

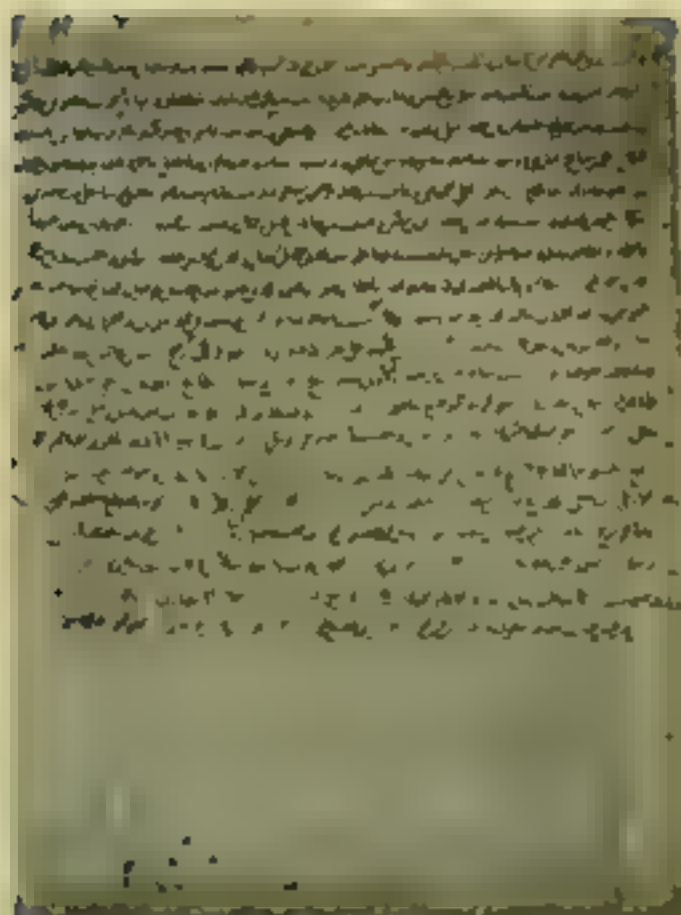
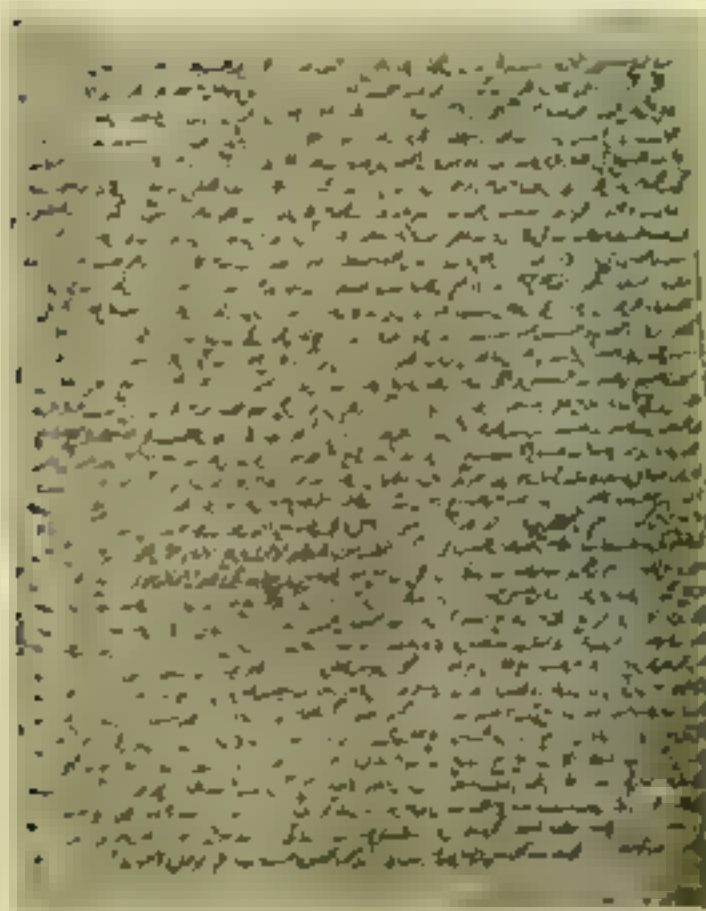


ILLUSTRATION 3(H)



By courtesy of the Secretary, O P Library  
Bankipore (Patna)







But there were some moderate-minded traditionalists who enjoyed the guidance of the Umayyad process, or some of them did not consider it so drastic as the rulers of the day. But they did not sweep up the literary tradition with their patron's sceptre, they left a considerable legacy. Among them may be named the traditionalists al-Fayrabi, al-Zuhayri, Rabi' al-Hawwā and al-Muḥallabī. Muḥallabī, al-Zuhayri, al-Fayrabi copied the poems of the pre-Islam. But at the same time they kept to the recognized poetic diction, though the new diction was dictated by certain traditions, but their vocabulary and rhythm have never been questioned by any of them. Among the modern European Orientalists, H. Revitzky having referred to the authorities and traditions of al-Fayrabi who considered 'Zuhayr a better tradition in favour of the Umayyad' says: 'That he and al-Zuhayri invented *ḥadith* in order to promote the interest of the Umayyads is, however, not well placed'.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact al-Zuhayr at times carried some of the old poetry by genuine tradition against their interest to which tradition he took to the end in spite of the fury of his patrons.<sup>2</sup> Some of his supporters of the Umayyads, however, overstepped the limits of proper cooperation. They used not only fair, but also foul, means to further the interest of their patrons. Among them are included men like 'Awraḥīm al-Hakīm and others who forged traditions in favour of the Umayyads, and tried to propagate the forged traditions among the people. But their foul deeds have been denounced by the poets and strict traditionalists, and they have been branded as forgers and liars. As such, therefore, they have left little mark in *Ḥadith* literature.

During the reign of the Abbāsids who tried to reconcile the pious Muslims by their outwardly religious appearance although the whole of the extant standard literature of *Hadith*

(1) JBL, *l.*, 163-86

(2) M5t, u, 38-40.

(3)  $LC, 4, 48.$

(4) *Ibid.* 41-42.

evolved and developed during the period 500-1000 A.D. and the various causes of this gradual development were the caliph's commands to be exact in the sciences, as was coming the force of the Umayyad.<sup>1</sup> Some of the traditionists like Malik b. Anas,<sup>2</sup> Ahmad b. Hanbal<sup>3</sup> and others adhered under the Abbassid rulers.<sup>4</sup> Some others e.g. Malik<sup>5</sup> were put to trial by their officers.<sup>6</sup> Some e.g. Muslim and others had been indebted to the help of 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8. None of the examples of the important corrections of *Hadith* received or expected any help or encouragement from these generous and benevolent caliphs.

### 5. THE EXACTITUDE OF THE TRADITIONISTS

No other literature can compare with *Hadith* literature in the attempt after exactitude made by its possessors. We have seen how all the various collectors of *Hadith* collected as tried to remember exactly what they had learnt from their teachers. There certainly had been numerous forms of *Hadith*.<sup>7</sup> But they had only to do with *Hadith* literature. Those who have been mainly responsible for its development have endeavoured to be as exact as was possible. Some had been faithful only to the ideas without attaching in any importance to the expressions. Others tried to be faithful to the ideas as well as to the words. They reproduced each word and letter, including the diacritical marks and the vowel points, without deviating in the least from what they had received. al-Kutub al-Fakih<sup>8</sup> in the first few chapters of his *Kutub al-Kutub* has been so how exact some of the traditionists had been with regard to every word and letter in a *Hadith*.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Umar did not like to change the order of words in a sentence even when it did not affect the meaning in the least. Malik b. Anas tried to be exact about each and every letter. Ibn

1. See *Supra* p. 134.

2. WA No. 60.

3. See *Supra* p. 11.

4. *Ibid.* p. 10.

5. KK: OPC.

Sufi did not approve of making corrections in a *Hadith* even in those cases in which there was certainly a mistake by the reporter.<sup>1</sup>

The care and exactitude of the early traditionists is further illustrated by the principles which had been established by them about the methods of the acquisition of knowledge and the dates of its teachers and students. These principles have been discussed since the second century of the Hijra and they are mentioned in the various works on the *ʿIlm al-Hadith* (the science of Tradition).

The first problem about the study of *Hadith* is that of the age at which it may be commenced. The traditionists of Kufa have fixed the age of 20, those of Basra the age of 30 and those of Syria the age of 40. But according to the majority of the later traditionists, the study of *Hadith* may be commenced at the age of 5.<sup>2</sup>

In any case, the study of *Hadith* should be preceded by that of Arabic grammar and language so that the mistakes that arise from their ignorance might be avoided.<sup>3</sup> 'Abū 'Arab b. al-Mubārak, the famous traditionist, spent more money on learning Arabic language than on traditions. He attached more importance to the former than to the latter and asked the students of *Hadith* to spend on learning Arabic grammar twice as long time as on *Hadith*. Hammād b. Salama is said to have remarked that he who takes to *Hadith* without knowing grammar is like an ass which carries a sack without corn. Asna'ī was of opinion that he who studied *Hadith* without learning grammar was to be counted among the forgers.<sup>4</sup> Shu'ba and 'Abbās b. al-Mughira also are stated to have made similar remarks.<sup>5</sup> Sibwayh, the grammarian, took

1. KK, 1.

2. MS, 39.

3. TR, 104.

4. Mtd, i, 17-26.

5. TR, 104.

to his stay at grammar, because his mistake in a *Hadith* had been pointed out to him by Muhammad b. Salama.<sup>1</sup>

Having learnt the preliminaries, the student should purge his mind of all worldly considerations. He should develop good character, seek the help of God in his efforts, and strive earnestly in the acquisition of knowledge. He should begin his study with the best teachers of his town, and carry on by seeking answers to the rest of the literary world, by comparing what is possessed by the various *Shaykh* masters of the subject. But he should not run after the rare narrators of *Hadith*. He should hear and write them down, and understand them and should know their genuineness or otherwise, then the degree of importance and reputation, the proper significance of the words used in them, and the character of those through whom they have been handed down.

On the actual process of learning *Hadith* the traditionists have mentioned the following eight forms:

1. *al-Sama'*—The student may attend the lectures of the teacher, which may be in the form of simple narration or lectures or accompanied by dictation of the same, either from memory or from a book.

2. *al-Qira'a*—One may read to a traditionist, the traditions which have been narrated or compiled by him. Or one may hear the traditions while they are recited by another student, or a traditionist, the teacher, provided he is able to verify what is recited, or compares his own copy with what is recited.

3. *al-Ijaz'a*—To get the permission of a traditionist to narrate to others the traditions compiled by him. This may be granted in different ways, some of which are recognized by the majority as valid, and some of which are rejected.

4. *al-Munāzala*—To get the compilation of a traditionist together with his permission to narrate its contents to others.

<sup>1</sup> *Mudaww*, 32.



which is recognized as valid by the majority of the traditionists — without its permission to report the traditions which is declared as invalid by the majority.

5. *al-Makhtat* — To receive by one's permission a tradition from a traditionist — either written or without the permission to narrate from others.

6. *Ilām al-Ri'ā* — The collection of traditions from a student that he, the traditionist, received from him, some traditions or book from him, or all that authority has, giving him the stipulation to narrate from him.

7. *al-Hay'ah* — To get the works of a traditionist by his will at the time of his death.

8. To find certain traditions in a book without deriving them from any recognized authority.<sup>2</sup>

The first two of these methods are recognized by the traditionists as the best. The rest are declared as invalid by some, and as valid by others.

The student who gathers the knowledge of *Hadith* by any one or more of the various methods, is not recognized as a traditionist unless he combines together with it the knowledge of the life and character of the narrators and of the degrees of the reliability of the various traditions and other connected matters. Such of them as combine all these and other qualities to which reference has been made are known as *al-Hāfiẓ* or *al-Muhaddith* according to the degree of perfection attained by them.<sup>3</sup>

Such students of *Hadith* as attain mastery of it as well as that of connected subjects may deliver lectures on the subject between the age of 40 and 80, once or twice or three a week for no other consideration than the propagation of knowledge. Before going to the lectures, they should take a bath, perform



also add at the end of every *Hadith* such words as might show that the words used in it were his own. In case he finds any mistake in a *Hadith* which he has received, he should narrate it first according to its correction, and then point out also how it was reported to him. If he received a tradition from more than one narrator in different words conveying the same idea, he should narrate it giving the name of every narrator and pointing out that the expressions used were by such and such narrators. If he received a part of a tradition from one narrator and another part from another narrator, he should point it out to his students. If there had been any negligence on the part of the lecturer when he received a tradition which might have affected his knowledge, he should not fail to bring such negligence to the notice of his students. In short, it is a duty of the lecturer in *Hadith* to convey it to his students exactly as it was received by him, and to add his own comments on it in such way as might not be mistaken for a part of the tradition. He is not allowed even to change the words *Rasul Allah* into *Nabi Allah* (which convey more loss the same idea). He should finish his discourse by reciting instructive and attractive historical, humorous stories exhorting his audience to piety, good manners and high character.<sup>1</sup>

The pious traditions, however, tried to maintain the care and exactitude which they showed in the acquisition and propagation of traditions, also in writing them down, and laid down definite principles with regard to it, so that no mistake might be committed by the writers and readers of *Hadith*.

Such students of traditions as write them down are required to use clear, distinct and bold letters, each letter being distinctly written so that they may not be mistaken for other similar letters. The dots of the letters with points are to be properly placed, and those without them are to be made distinct with distinct additional signs which are thoroughly

(1) TR, 159-70.

discussed in works on *ʿUlūm al-Hadīth*. Special attention is to be paid to rare and archaic words and proper names, which in addition to the text are also to be noted on the margin in distinct separate letters. Such expressions as 'Abī Allāh should be completely written in one and the same line. The various traditions are to be separated from one another by small circles in which dots may be put after the manuscript has been compared with its original copy. The genuineness of the genuine traditions, and the defects of the defective ones, are to be shown by special signs. If, for example, the chain of authenticity is broken in the case of a tradition, or if any part of a tradition contains any obvious or hidden defect, these parts should be marked in particular.

After the manuscript is completed it should be carefully compared with the original, and all the mistakes of commission as well as of omission should be duly corrected. All the omissions should be put down on the right hand margin to which a line should be drawn from the word in the text after which the missing part should fall. The mistakes of commission should be either struck off or erased. But it is preferable to pen through them in such a way as to keep them legible and also show that they are struck off.

The writer should always follow in the text of his manuscript a particular version of a book or traditions. The differences in other versions and the criticism may be noted distinctly on the margin.

Such students as write down traditions at the dictation of their teachers are required to be extremely careful and exact in their writings and in putting dots wherever they may be necessary. They are also required to put down in a prominent part of the manuscript the names of their teachers together with other particulars about them, the names of all the fellow students who attended these lectures, as well as the time and place when and where these lectures were delivered.<sup>1</sup>

(1) MIS, 70-82 FM 20-63 TR 151-51r

All these particulars with regard to learning, teaching and writing down traditions have been treated and discussed by the traditionists since the second century of the Hijra with exhaustive, minute details which show their care and exactitude which they wanted to maintain at every stage of the propagation of *Hadith*.

The *Hadith* literature, therefore, for its advanced system of *Isnād*, for the prominent part taken by women in its cultivation, for the unparalleled devotion of its votaries, and for their care and exactitude, may be said to be unique.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SCIENCES OF TRADITION

#### (<sup>1</sup>ULŪM AL-HADĪTH)

We have seen that every *Hadith* consists of two parts: the *Ismāʿīlī*—chain of transmitters—and the *Matn*—text. Each of these two parts is of equal importance to a traditionist. The latter as a report of the sayings or actions of the Prophet, forms a basis of the Islamic rituals and laws, and the former constitutes the credentials of the latter. The traditionists, therefore, treat and compare the traditions with one and the same *Ismāʿīlī* and different texts, as well as the traditions with one and the same text and different *Ismāʿīlī* as entirely independent traditions. A critical study of traditions, therefore, likewise consists in comparing the two elements of two parts: that of the *Ismāʿīlī* and that of the text.

In order to check a *Ismāʿīlī* it is necessary to know the life and the character as well as the character of the various persons who constitute the various links in the chains of the different *Ismāʿīlī*. And in order to ascertain the exact significance of the text and to establish genuineness it is necessary to know the meaning of the various expressions used, some of which are rare and out of common use, and also to learn its relation to the text of the other traditions—some of which may be either corroborated or contradicted by it.

In contact with *Hadith* literature, therefore, there have been developed by the Muslims various other branches of literature which are summarized in the various works on the *ʿUlūm al-Hadīth*. Likewise of Abū Muḥammad ʾl-Rāmhurmazī (d. 390/970), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣṣaḥrī (d. 430/1038), al-Khaṭīb al-Baḥrī (d. 403/1012), al-Hakīm (d. 405/1014), Ibn al-Sīthī (d. 613/1215) and many others. These are 100 in number, and each of them is said to be important enough to be treated as an independent branch of knowledge.<sup>2</sup>



Some of them are connected only with the *Ibad* of the traditions and in certain cases relate to our text, and some relate to both the *Ibad* as well as the text. We will deal here with only two of them, and discuss their evolution and influence on *Hadith* literature.

### ASMA' AL-RIJAL

#### BIOGRAPHY AND CATALOGUE OF THE NARRATORS OF HADITH

One of the most important and richest branches of literature which originated and developed in connection with the *Ibad* in *Hadith* is that relating to the biography of the narrators of traditions. It is generally known as *Asma' al-Rijal*. In it are included all the various works which deal with the chronology, the biography and the criticism of the narrators of traditions and of every aspect of their life which may be helpful in determining their identity, veracity and reliability.

1. *Chronology*. The consideration of dates began to be noticed and developed among the Muslims at an early period in the history of Islam. There is a difference of opinion as to the exact time when it was first used by the Muslims. According to some authorities, dates were introduced into official correspondence by the Prophet himself at the close of the Hijra, when a treaty was concluded between him and the people of Najrân.<sup>1</sup> But it is generally held that this was done by 'Umar b. al-Khattab with the unanimous advice of a congregation of important Muslims—in the sixth or the seventh year of the Hijra.<sup>2</sup> The same foresighted caliph followed a chronological principle in the award of positions to the various groups of Muslims of his time according to their priority in the acceptance of the Islamic faith, which principle was already accepted by the Community as a point of great distinction. Its use assumed greater importance on account of the necessity of an explanation of the historical verses in the *Qur'ân*, and of the determination of the dates

(1) TR, 1. 2.

(2) *Ibid.* loc. cit.

of recitation of the legal verses, in order that it might be decided which of them had been cancelled and which of them were still in force.

They followed in their chronology the lunar calendar, which had been adopted by the Arabs long before the advent of Islam. But originally, at least the Meccans among the Arabs followed the solar calendar, which is evident from their division of the year according to the seasons, and also from the significance of the names of the various months, and is proved conclusively by J. Weishaussen in his scholarly book, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) *Biography*. The composition of the biographical works with a perfect chronological order of the events, however, was commenced by the Mashūns before the end of the first century of the Hijra.

Herzowitz has shown that Aban d. between 86 and 105 A.H., the son of the caliph Umayyad, 'Urwab b. al Zubayr (20-11+46-712) and Shurayb, who is said to have been born in 20 A.H. and lived more than 100 years, had collected a good deal of material relating to the biography of the Prophet. Soon after them, Wahb wrote a book on the *Maghā*—a fragment of which is preserved at Heidelberg in Germany.<sup>2</sup> Wahb was followed by numerous biographers of the Prophet during the second and third centuries. The fragment and the text of such of these biographies as are still extant reveal a thorough use of the chronological system by their authors.

(iii) *Criticism of the Narrators*. A general critical estimate of the reliability of the narrators, based on their life and character, in order to determine the veracity of their reports, appears to have been taken into consideration earlier than the period when the *Isnād* became long enough to admit the application of the chronological method. Ibn 'Adi d. (365, 975) in the introduction to his book, *Kamil*, has given a general

1. Pp. 94-101. Also see Elms. *Tarikh*, W. Hartner.

2. IsC. I, 390-558. FIS, v, 233.

survey of the development of the criticism of the narrators since its beginning till his own time. According to him, narrators had been criticised by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Albas, 'Ubbāda b. al-Samit and Anas, among the Companions, by al-Sha'bi, Ibn Sa'īd and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib among the Followers. But it did not become common till the next generation, because most of the narrators till then had been reliable. In the next generation, when the narrators of doubtful reliability grew in number, their criticism also assumed greater importance. About the middle of the second century, therefore, Amash, Shar'ba and Mālik criticised a large number of the narrators, and declared some of them as weak and some as unreliable. About the same time flourished two of the greatest critics of *Rijāl*: Yalya b. Sa'īd al-Qatani d. 198/815 and 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Mahdi d. 198/815, whose verdict on the narrators' reliability or unreliability was accepted as final. Where they differed in their opinion about the reliability of a narrator, the traditionists used their own discretion in the matter. They were followed by another class of critics which included Yazid b. Harun and others.<sup>1</sup>

Chronology, biography and criticism having developed among the Muslims at an early period in the history of Islam, were applied by them to the *Isnad* in traditions in order to check their genuineness and determine the reliability of their narrators. Chronology was taken by the traditionists as an important expedient to determine the genuineness of the *Isnad*. "Whenever you have a doubt about the veracity of a narrator", remarks Hafs b. Ghiyāth d. 160/776, "test him by means of the years" (i.e. the dates of birth and death). Sufyan al-Thauri is said to have declared, "When the narrators forged traditions, we used the *Tārīkh* (chronology) against them".<sup>2</sup> Hassān b. Zayd observed, "We never used against the forgers any device more effective than the *Tārīkh*".<sup>3</sup>

(1) 'Abū 'Adnā has been quoted by Jazā'iri in TN, p. 114.

(2) M18, 154.

(3) TR, 254.

Canonology had been therefore used as early as the second century by the traditionists in order to test the truth of the statement of their narrators. Some examples of it are cited by Musṭafī in his introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and a good many of them are found in the work on *Ḍuḥā al-Riḥā*.<sup>1</sup>

The traditionists themselves realized the importance of tradition. The great and famous compiled and copied works dealing with the narrations of tradition in different periods were composed at the second century. Such historians of the history of traditions, says Otto Latta, "as have been distinguished, arranged and in which every Muslim tradition has found a definite place, had been already in common use among the traditionists in the second and third centuries of the second century."<sup>2</sup>

The beginning of the compilation of the works on *Ḍuḥā al-Riḥā* has been also noticed. P. H. Nidm has mentioned two works, *Ḍuḥā al-Riḥā* and *Ḍuḥā al-Riḥā*, in the discourse dealing with the works on the jurists and the traditionists. One of these books, by the great traditionist, Abū Allāh b. al-Munazzir, is attributed by David b. Sūdī (1165-1278/91) an eminent traditionist of the Maliki school.<sup>3</sup> These authorities had no bearing on history and their works are not really so important as the *Ḍuḥā* in which historical works are dealt with. We may therefore count them among the earliest works on our subject. Horowitz is correct in his opinion that the earliest work on the subject was composed about the middle of the second century.<sup>4</sup> Among the products of the second century of Islam, however, must be included such works on our subject as the *Kitāb al-Jabaqūt*, *Kitāb al-Jawāz al-Jabaqūt*, *Kitāb al-Jabaqūt al-Faḥḥā* 'al-Muḥaddithin, *Kitāb al-Jabaqūt al-Faḥḥā* 'al-Muḥaddithin,<sup>5</sup> *Kitāb*

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG, XX, 100.

<sup>2</sup> JN, 2, 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1, 100.

<sup>4</sup> JN, 90.

<sup>5</sup>

*Jabāqāt man rra'a an al-Nabi* by al-Wāqidi and Haytham b. 'Aḥī — both of whom died in the latter part of the third century, and whose works served as important sources to the later writers on the subject (e.g. Ibn Sa'd d. 230/844, Ibn al-Khaṣṣāṭ d. 340/854) and others.<sup>1</sup>

As all the early works on our subject have been lost, it is impossible to determine definitely their general plan and the nature of their contents. But from the later works which are based on them and which we have received, and from the general tendencies of the traditionists of the time, it may be inferred that their contents mainly consisted of: (a) short descriptions of the genealogies and the dates of their birth and death, (b) some biographical matters relating to the narrators, and (c) a short criticism of their reliability together with the opinions of the important authorities about them. These are the main features of the contents of the *Jabāqāt* of Ibn Sa'd which will be described later, and these matters, as we have seen, had received serious attention of the traditionists before the end of the second century of the Hijra.

The compilation of the biographies of the narrators of traditions, being begun in the second century of the Hijra, was continued with zeal and vigour in the following centuries. In the third century, not only various specialists in the subject (e.g. Ibn Sa'd d. 230/844, Khaliḥ b. al-Khaṣṣāṭ, Ibn Abī Khaythama d. 279/892) and others — but also almost every traditionist of reputation compiled simultaneously with his collection of traditions, some biographies of their narrators also. The compiler of each of the six standard works in *Hadith* literature has to his credit one or more important books on the biography of the narrators of traditions also.<sup>2</sup> Some other traditionists also (e.g. Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abi Shayba d. 245/849, Abū al-Madīni, and many others) — wrote on the subject.

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) FN, 230, 231, 233; KZ, h, 44).

During the fourth and the succeeding centuries, the compilation of the biographies of traditionists appears to have become a fashion of the time throughout the vast Islamic dominions. Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Africa, Spain, and India all produced numerous biographers for the traditionists who composed huge works on the subject.

The works of the famous *al-Ri'ā* helped the growth of general biographical literature in the Arabic language. There were composed in Arabic the biographies of poets, grammarians, physicians, saints, jurists, judges, calligraphers, lovers, misters, princes and of other classes of people. The biographical literature in Arabic is therefore extremely rich. The glory of the Muhammadan literature, says Dr. Sprenger, 'is its literary biographies. There is no nation, and less there been an—like them, has during twelve centuries narrated the life of every man of letters.'<sup>1</sup> Margoliouth remarks:

The biographical literature of the Arabs was exceedingly rich inasmuch it would appear that in Baghdad when an eminent man died there was a market for biographies of him, as is the case in the capitals of Europe in our time. The literature which consists in collected biographies is abnormally large and it is a consequence easier for the student of the history of the caliphate to find out something about the persons mentioned in the chronicles than in any analogous case.<sup>2</sup>

The magnitude of these biographical dictionaries may be ascertained from the large number of men whose biographies they contain. Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqat* contains the biographies of more than 3000 traditionists. al-Bukhārī's *Tarikh* deals with more than 32000 traditionists. al-Khatib al-Baghdādī in his History of Baghdad gives short biographies of 7031 persons. Ibn A'khir in the eighty volumes of his History of Damascus collected together the biographies of a much larger number of people. Ibn Hajar in his *Tahdhīb al-Iththāb* and *Majma' al-Jalid*, summarized the biographical

(1) ITS, I, intro., p. i.

(2) ArH, 76.



notices on 12,415 and 14,343 narrators of traditions respectively. These figures, which may be easily collected from numerous other works on our subject, are sufficient to show the magnitude of biographical literature in Arabic.

The works on the *Amā' al-Rijāl* however, differ from one another in their scope, their general plan, and the nature of their contents, according to the main object of their compilers and authors. Some of them contain extremely short notices on a particular class of narrators of traditions. Such is the *Tabaqāt al-Huffā'* of Dhawabī<sup>1</sup> and various other works on weak or unreliable narrators. Some of them deal with only their names, their *alijās* and their tale or *isbā'*. To this class belong the various works on *Amā' al-Huffā'* and the well-known *Kitāb al-Ishāb* of al-Sam'ānī. Some of them contain biographical details of all such narrators as lived in or visited any particular town—e.g. Aleppo, Baghdad, Damascus, etc. To this class belong the works of al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-'Asākir and others. Some of them deal with only the reliable or unchallengeable narrators—e.g. the *Kitāb al-Thiqāt* and the *Kitāb al-Ishāb* of Ibn Hibbān and others. Some of them contain the biographies of only such narrators as find a place in any particular collection of traditions or in a group of them. To this class belong a large number of works which deal with the lives of the narrators on whom al-Bukhārī or Muslim or the authors of all the six standard works on *Hadith* have relied.

The works on the *Amā' al-Rijāl* may, therefore, be classified into two main groups—(1) the general works, and (2) the special works.

1. *General Works*. By the general works on the *Amā' al-Rijāl* are meant such of them as contain the biographies of all the narrators, or at least of all the important ones among them, who had been known to their compilers. To this class belong most of the early works on the subject. The *Tabaqāt* of Muhammad b. Sa'd, the three Histories of

(1) In Suyūṭī's abridgement.

al-Bukhārī, the History of Ahmad b. Abi Khathama and many other works on the *Umma al-Ras*, which were compiled during the third century of the Hijra and which contain the biographies of all the narrators, or at least of all the important ones among them who had been known to their authors. The earliest of these works received by us is the *Kitab al-Fitah wa-Khbar* by Ibn Sa'd. The life of its author has been admirably described by two distinguished German orientologists, Lauth<sup>1</sup> and Sachau<sup>2</sup> and I cannot do better than summarize their researches:

Abū 'Aṣa Mūsā Muhammad b. Sa'īd b. Munīr al-Zuhri belonged to a family of Bakhama slaves of the family of the great traditionist 'Abd al-Wah b. 'Abbās, who had granted liberty to them. Born at Basra, the great centre of *Hadith* learning, Ibn Sa'd must have been attracted by the charms of the Tradition in pursuit of which he himself travelled through Kufa, Mecca and Medina where he must have stayed for quite a long time. At last, he came to Baghdad, the greatest centre of intellectual activity in his time. Here he came in close contact with Waṣṣāḥ, one of the early Arab historians. Ibn Sa'd worked as Waṣṣāḥ's literary assistant for a pretty long time, and he gave him his *Kitab al-Faḡih* (the science of Waṣṣāḥ), by which he is generally known. By his reputation in Baghdad as a historian and traditionist, Ibn Sa'd attracted a band of students who sat at his feet and studied Tradition and History with him. One of the most prominent among them was the great historian, al-Baladhuri whom his later career borrowed a great deal from Ibn Sa'd in his well known work *Futuh al-Buldan*. Ibn Sa'd died in the year 230-/844.

Ibn Sa'd who possessed great learning and equally great love for it, also possessed a great love of books the possession and collection of which had already become a fashion among the Muslims. al-Khatib al-Baghda'ī says:<sup>3</sup> "He possessed vast

<sup>1</sup> *Sevimli* pp. 14 + n. 3 f.

(2) *TIS*, iii, part 1, editor's intro.

(3) *TB*, v, 321f.

learning, knew a large number of traditions, had great thirst for them, narrated a good many of them, and had collected a large number of books, particularly the rare ones, and those on *Hadith* and *Fiqh*. Of the collections of the works of al-Wiqay<sup>1</sup> and al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, which were in the possession of four persons having the name of Ibn Sa<sup>2</sup>, his was the largest<sup>3</sup>.

Ibn Sa<sup>4</sup> made the best use of his vast learning and rich library in composing his own works. Two of them, the *Tabaqat* and the *Kitab Akbar al-Nabi*, have been mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim<sup>5</sup> and a third, a smaller edition of the *Tabaqat*, is mentioned by al-Nawawi<sup>6</sup> and others, but is not known to exist.

Ibn Sa's *Kitab Akbar al-Nabi* constitutes only a part of the *Tabaqat*. It was compiled and completed by his author, but was handed down to posterity by his student, Harith b. Muhammad b. Abi Usama (180-232/302-816).<sup>7</sup>

The *Tabaqat* was completely planned and compiled by Ibn Sa<sup>8</sup>, but could not be completed by him. He appears, however, to have read whatever he had written of this book, to his student, Husayn b. Fahm (211-281/826-901), who is reported to have been a keen student of traditions and of the biographies of the narrators.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Fahm completed the book according to the plan of its author, added to it his short biographical notice as well as that of certain other narrators whose names had already been included by the author in the general plan of his work, and read it to his own students.

Both of these two books of Ibn Sa<sup>10</sup> were received from his two students by some of their common disciples. One

(1) FN, 171.

(2) TA, 7; WA, No. 656.

(3) I received this book from the beginning till the end of the part dealing with the life of the Prophet, says Harith.

(4) FB, viii, 92 ff.

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

(9)

(10)



On the basis of all the various known manuscripts of The Hanyu's edition, the great Book of Classics was edited by an enthusiastic board of German scholars, and it was published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences in about 20 years.

According to this printed edition, in spite of various *lacunae* the book contains over and above a detailed biography of the Prophet, the biographical notices of about 4500 narrators of various generations down to 238 B<sup>2</sup>? in the following order :—

Vol. I part I. Genealogy of Mohammed and his biography down to his migration to Meinhah. Ed by E. M. W. Ch.

of *Tabagat* / *Tabagat* xsm — ed — being the Gotha and the Bed — may not reveal the work for its real nature — the — and history of the *Tabagat* class of the — and the place of the work of the — and the — as a reference of value material — — — It was both the — for the — book.

[illegible]

Thus by the convergence of the given terms — the star Polaris and  
 Andromeda's nucleus — the position of the common centre is found  
 a Prof. Sauer, with the help of his students in the East  
 and the West, and the entire work is published as a *Journal of the  
 Oriental Observatory* of the great Black Observatory of the  
 20 years (1890) is the most recent volume of the book since it  
 appeared since 1900 (see the list of the Syd. 1900).

A more recent reproduction of the German *Journal* of the 1840s  
has been published by Books at Booksellers.

Vol. I part 2. Biographies of the Companions after his migration to Mecca—on various matters relating to it. Ed. by E. Mittwoch and Ed. Sachau.

Vol. II, part 1. The various campaigns of the Prophet. Ed. by J. Horowitz.

Vol. II, part 2. Sayings and deeds of the Prophet. Includes written or transmitted on various poets and the biographies of the Muslim poets and readers of the Qur'ân who lived in Mecca during the Prophet's lifetime and just after his death. Ed. by J. Seiwitz. 1942.

Vol. III, part 1. Biographies of the Refugees who took part in the Battle of Badr. Ed. by E. Sachau. 1904. Part 2. The same. Ed. by J. Horowitz. Probably deals with the same class of persons.

Vol. IV, part 1. Biographies of such early converts to Islam as did not take part in the battle of Badr, but had migrated to Abyssinia and later on took part in the Battle of Uhud. Ed. by J. Lippert. 1906.

Vol. IV, part 2. Biographies of other Companions who were converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca. Ed. by J. Lippert. 1908.

Vol. V. Biographies of the *Tahran* Followers who lived in Meccah. Ed. by K. V. Zettersteen. 1905.

Vol. VI. Biographies of the Companions and the other artists and technicians who settled down and lived in Kufa. Ed. by K. V. Zettersteen. 1909.

Vol. VII, part 1. Biographies of the Companions and other artists and technicians who lived in Basra. Ed. by B. Meusnier. 1915.

Vol. VII, part 2. Biographies of the Companions and other poets and traditions of Bagd, Ed., Syria, Egypt, Africa, etc. Ed. by E. Sachau. 1908. \*



Vol. VIII — Biographies of the women narrators including the Companions and the Followers — Ed. by C. Brockelmann, 1904.

In this great work no definite common plan has been followed in all the articles. But those on the Companions are long and generally contain their genealogy both on their father's and mother's side, the names of their wives and children, the period of their conversion to Islam, the part taken by them in the important events during the Prophet's life-time, the dates of their death, and other matters connected with their habits, and biographies which were considered by the traditionists to be of importance. Of course the reader is very often disappointed with regard to important biographical matters which he naturally may expect. But at the same time he very often comes across important historical matters which he may not have expected. All these details, however, are entirely wanting in the articles on the later narrators, which do not exceed one or two sentences. Many of them are altogether blank from which fact it has rightly been inferred that these parts were meant by Ibn Sa'd to serve as notes to be developed at some later date, but he died before completing his work.

As Prof. Sachau says, Ibn Sa'd has shown in his work impartiality and honesty, thoroughness and minuteness, and objectivity and originality.<sup>1</sup> His impartiality and honesty have been generally acknowledged. Just as in spite of being a Maula of the Hashimites, he took no part in their party politics, so in his articles on the various persons he gave no expression to his personal relation to or prejudice for or against any one, and recorded in simple, unvarnished style all that he knew, and considered of importance about them. His thoroughness and minuteness is abundantly shown by his constant reference to the various versions of an event as well as to the differences among his authorities. His objectivity is illustrated by the want of the least irrelevant material in his

(1) TIS, iii, 1, editor's intro., pp. xxx et seq.

work. His originality is shown by his sub-classification of the narrators according to the various provinces in which they lived, and the general summary of the *Isnat* of the various versions of an event before describing them and the entire absence of them in certain parts, all of which are ascribed to his own ingenuity.<sup>2</sup> He has been compared by Sachau with Piriard, the latter's method of work being due to the fact that Piriard formed the book as a long chain of biographers whose contributions to the work he had inherited, whereas Ibn Sa'd has been one of the pioneers in the field.

Be it as it may, the *Tabaqat* of Ibn Sa'd is one of the earliest extant works on *Umayyad* *Kutub*, containing biographical notices of most of the important narrators of the most important period in the history of traditions. It is a rich mine of many sound, valuable information about the early history of Islam. It may be described not only as the most important extant work on the subject but also as one of the most important works in Arabic literature in general. Since the beginning of the fourth century A.H. it has been used as a source by a large number of authors on Arabian history and biography: al-Baladhuri,<sup>3</sup> al-Tabari,<sup>4</sup> al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, al-Hafiz al-Nawawi,<sup>5</sup> and Ibn Hajar used it as an important source for their work, and al-Suyuti prepared an edition of it. As a general biographical dictionary of the narrators it appears to have always occupied a unique position in the *Umayyad* *Kutub*. The other works of the *Tabaqat* class dealt only with particular classes of the narrators.

#### KITĀB AL-*TA'RĪKH* OF AL-BUKHĀRĪ

Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqat* was soon followed by the works of al-Bukhari who claimed to have possessed some biographical

(1) ZDMG, xxiii, 604-605. FIS, iii, 1 pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

(2) OIS, i, intro., p. 9.

(3) Aḡb, i, 1113-1116. Cf. FIS, i, pp. 28-29.

(4) TA, 7.

(5) ITS, i, 2.

knowledge about every narrator of traditions. He compiled three books on the history of the narrators in general. The largest of these is said to have contained the biographical notices of more than 10,000 narrators. But no complete manuscript of the book is known to exist. Only various parts of it are preserved in certain libraries on the basis of which the *Damrat al-Ma'arif*, Hyderabad, India, has prepared a text of the book and published it.

2. *Biographical dictionaries of particular classes of narrators.* Almost simultaneously with the biographical dictionaries of the narrators in general, was begun the compilation of those of particular classes of them. The most important of them are:

- i. those containing the biographies of the Companions,
- ii. those containing the biographies of the narrators who lived in or visited any particular town or province, and
- iii. those containing the biographies of the narrators belonging to the various schools of the jurists.

#### 1. THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES OF THE COMPANIONS

These constitute the vital part of the *Umma al-Rasul*. But no independent book on the subject appears to have been written before the third century of the Hijra, when the great traditionist, al-Bukhārī, compiled the first independent biographical dictionary of the Companions<sup>1</sup> which must have been mainly based on

(a) the *Sirat* literature;

(b) the numerous monographs relating to the various important events during the early period of the history of Islam;

(1) ITS, I, 1.

A large number of traditions containing biographical material relating to the Companions.

(1) and the other general work on the *Umd at Rijal*.

Y. Bakir was followed by numerous authors during the subsequent period of the history of Islam, who produced a vast literature on the subject. Abū Yūsuf Ahmad b. 'Alī (d. 241/855), Abū 'Uqayb al-Qasbi, Abū Mūsh al-Baghawi (d. 342/953), the great traditionist and copist, Abū Ḥusayn al-Layth al-A'mash (commonly known as Ibn Shāhin, d. 343/954), one of the most prolific writers of his time (his *Umd at Rijal* on *Umd* on ink only),<sup>2</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn b. Yūsuf b. Ma'la (d. 301/913), Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣṭisrī, Abū 'Abd Allāh (336-403/947-1012), who is often considered one of the best traditionists,<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 450/1058) and al-Gharawī a contemporary of al-Kawābirī, traditionist and the greatest traditionist of his century. With 'Abū Ma'mūn Ma'mūn b. Abū Bakr (501-570/1107-1174) and many others produced an extensive literature on the biographies of the Companions.

The results of the researches of all these scholars were brought together in the sixteenth century A.H. by the well-known tradition collector, Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athir (d. 660/1262) in his book *Umd at Ghaba* which was based mainly on the works of Ibn Ma'mūn, Abū Nu'aym, Abū Ma'mūn and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, whose *Umd* contained the biographies of only 300 Companions, and to which a supplement was written by Ibn al-Athir which contained the biographies of about the same number of Companions.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Athir, however, does not follow his sources blindly.

Having discussed in the introduction the chief sources of the book and its general plan, Ibn al-Athir has defined the

(1) TB, II, 111-117.

(2) *Ibid.* II, 267.

(3) TH, XII, 1.

(4) WA, No. 284.

(5) KZ, I, 277.

term *Sahābah* has given a short sketch of the biography of the Prophet, and has put together in an alphabetical order the biographies of 704 Companions, some of whom were discovered by him through his independent researches. In the various articles he has generally given the names of the Companions, their *kunya*, their genealogy, and other biographical matters relating to them. When he differs from his predecessors, he displays the matter at length, gives reasons in his own support, and explains the cause of the mistakes made by his predecessors. In spite of many repetitions in it, the *Ud al-Ghāba* has been generally appreciated and praised by the traditionists as a reliable authority on its subject. Several biographers, e.g. al-Nawwā, al-Dabībī, al-Qulaybī, al-Suyūṭī, and others, have prepared its supplement.

The *Ud al-Ghāba* was followed in the next century at the Hera by a more comprehensive work in the same line, viz. the *Ud al-Jamīʿ al-Sahābī*. Its author, Saʿīd al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl b. Abī Dīn Hajar al-Asqalānī (1371-1448) was the greatest literary figure of his time. He was born at old Cairo in 773. He lost both his mother and his father, who was a poet, when he was a mere infant. He was brought up by one of his relatives who was a famous man. But the little orphan was endowed by nature with strong intellectual powers and great tenacity of purpose. In spite of great difficulties in his way, he stuck to his literary pursuits, and soon excelled in Arabic language and literature as well as in all the various Islamic sciences and Arabic calligraphy. To *Hadith* particularly he devoted a considerable part of his life. For 10 years he sat for its sake at the feet of the well-known traditionist, Zayn al-Dīn Irqī (1351-1404) who had reintroduced into the teaching of traditions the old method of *Imām* dictation, and had brought the study of *Hadith* back to its former glory. Having finished his studies, Ibn Hajar settled down at Cairo in 1403, and devoted himself to the service of *Hadith* and its connected sciences. His authority as a traditionist was recognized

by his contemporaries and he was appointed as its professor in several educational institutions. He also served as a judge in a post he accepted after refusing it several times. He died in 852/1404.

He left about 100 of his incomplete and complete compositions and compilations which show his versatile genius. His *Foot of Bukhārī*, a commentary on *Sahih al-Bukhārī* is designated as a work by which was paid the great debt which the Islamic world owes to the great work of al-Bukhārī for six centuries.

In the *Tawzih al-Hajir* he has put together the results of the labour of all his predecessors in the field of the biographies of the Companions, criticising them in certain cases, and adding to them the results of his own researches. He has divided his book into four parts:—

Part I—Such persons as are mentioned in any tradition authentic or weak, directly or indirectly, to be Companions.

Part II—Such persons as were too young when the Prophet died, but were born during his life time in the family of the Companions, which leads to the presumption that they fulfilled the necessary conditions of being one of them.

Part III—Such persons as are known to have lived both before and after the advent of Islam, but are not known to have ever associated with the Prophet. These persons have never been known to be Companions, but they are mentioned in some of the works on the life of the Companions simply because they lived in the same period with them.

Part IV—This part contains the biographies of such persons as are wrongly mentioned in some of the biographical dictionaries as Companions.

## II. THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES OF THE NARRATORS WHO LIVED IN OR VISITED ANY PARTICULAR TOWN OR PROVINCE

Another huge set of biographical dictionaries of narrators had been completed according to places or provinces where



they lived or which they visited. The number of such dictionaries is large. Not only almost all the provinces, but almost every important town had not only one or two but several biographers who collected together the biographies of every important traditionist or man of letters who either lived in it or visited it. Mecca, Madinat Bara, Kufa, Warr, Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria, Qayrawān, Cordoba, Mans, Aleppo, Baghdād, Isfahān, Bukhara, Merv etc. all had their historians and biographers of their men of letters.<sup>1</sup>

Many of these provincial historians dealt with the political history of these provinces. Many of them dealt mainly with the biographies of their men of letters in general and those of the narrators and the traditionists in particular. Many of the early biographical dictionaries which contained the biographies of the important Muslim scholars of particular places (since their conquest by the Muslims till the time of the compilers), are supplemented by their successors with those of the eminent men of the later periods down to almost modern times.

One of the most important works of this type is al-Khuzh al-Baghdādī's *La'rikh Baghdad* which is the earliest biographical dictionary of the men of letters principally traditionists.

- (1) For the importance of the local Iraq historians reference may be made to the following passage attributed to Sa'ib Ahmad, the author of *Tabaqat al-Hamadaniyyin* :

'When to your scholarship has been associated a place and scholars lived there in ancient and modern times, the students of tradition there and all those interested in traditions have been with a thorough study of the *Hadith* of that time and place. After the student knows what is sound and what is unsound in their traditions and is completely acquainted with the *Hadith* science in his city and their conditions, he may occupy himself with the traditions of other places and with travelling in search of traditions.

(TB, i, 214; cited in HMH, p. 144)

On this question also see MIS, 100ff.

— who either belonged to or delivered lectures in, the great metropolis.<sup>1</sup>

al-Khatib al-Baghdādī (392-463 A.H.), whose full name was Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Ali, was the son of a Khatib of a village near Bagdād. He was born in the year 392/1002 and began the study of *Hadith* at the age of 11. He acquired it at the various centres of learning in Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, and soon he gained experience in the various Islamic sciences, particularly the *Uṣūl al-Fiṣḥ* and *Hadith*. He delivered lectures on *Hadith* in Damascus, Baghdād and other places, and some of his teachers, e.g. al-Azharī and al-Buḥārī, accepted him as an authority on traditions, and received them from him. Finally, he settled down in Baghdād, where his authority on *Hadith* was recognized by the caliph al-Qumrī and his minister Ibn Maslana (d. 450/1058), who had ordered that no preacher should narrate in his sermons anything which was not approved by al-Khatib al-Baghdādī. Here he read out almost all his books to his students, and here he died in 463/1071.

His life in Bagdād had not been altogether uneventful. During the revolt of al-Basāsī (450/1058) by whom Ibn Maslana was killed, al-Khatib also suffered much. He had to leave the town and wander about in Syria for some time, and when after the execution of the rebel he returned to Bagdād in 461, he suffered at the hands of the Hanbalites — on account of his leaving the Hanbali school and joining the Shāfiʿite school, and also on account of his liberal views towards the Avicennah and the Scholastic philosophers. Many treatises against him by the Hanbalites, are mentioned by Hājjī Khalīfa. al-Khatib, however, had been fortunate in having attained all his great desires — namely, 1. to read out his great History of Baghdād to his students in that town,

1. The only earlier history of the city by pastor Ahmad b. Abī Tahir (d. 320/932), of which only the sixth volume has been known, lithographed and translated into German by H. Keller, deals with the history of the Caliphs.

and 2 to be buried by the side of the grave of al-Bashir al-Hāfi (150-227/767-841).

al-Khatib compiled 36 large and small books and treatises a list of which is given by Yaqut in his *Ma'jam al-fadhā*.<sup>1</sup> The most important of these works is his *Tarākh Baghdad*. In this monumental work, which he read out to his students in the year 401, having given the topography of Baghdad, Ruāfa, and al-Madīna. Pūrification, which has been fully utilized by Le Strange in his lecture book on Baghdad, al-Khatib compiled together the biographies of 7331 eminent men and women, chiefly traditionists, who were either born in Baghdad, or who came to it from other places and delivered lectures on traditions. He has also described some important visitors to the city. He gives their names,  *kunya*, dates of death, and certain other biographical matters, and the opinions of important traditionists about their reliability.

In the arrangement of the various articles, al-Khatib gave the pride of place to the Companions. They are followed by those having the name Muḥammad. In the other articles alphabetical order has been followed. The articles on those who are known by their  *kunya*, and on women, are put at the end.

In this book al-Khatib has shown his vast knowledge of *Hadith* and of the *ḥima' al-Riāl*, and has also demonstrated his impartiality and critical acumen. He always gives the source of his information, and very often discusses in his notes the reliability of the traditions quoted, and of the reports received by him. He tries to determine the facts without prejudice or partiality.<sup>2</sup>

al-Khatib's description of Imam Abūnāḍ and al-Shāfi'ī as 'master of the traditionists' and 'crown of the jurists' respectively, for which he has been criticised, does not appear to be unfair. He is generally accepted as trustworthy, and is

(1) MUḌ, i, 248-249.

(2) IB, i, 330 n. 2; ii, 136 n. 10.

as well as the greatest in the East of his time in the East – was a contemporary of Caliph ‘Umar al-Mu‘alla. Part is taken from the *al-Furūq* and part from *al-Mawāzih* in the West.

He was born in Hama in 110 A.H. His teachers began the work after him: al-San‘ani (d. 114), al-Dihawī (d. 113), al-‘Asakir (d. 124), and others wrote supplements and books on the hundreds of eminent men of Baghdād till their own times.<sup>1</sup>

#### HISTORY OF DAMASCUS BY IBN al-‘ASAKIR

The outline plan of the History of Baghdād was followed by Ibn al-‘Asakir in his own history, a dictionary of the eminent men of Damascus in 11 volumes which excited the vehement disapproval of the later writers.

Ibn al-‘Asakir, whose true name was Abū al-Q\*sim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asakir ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn, was born at Hama in the family of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn in 499 A.H. His father, al-Ḥusayn and his nephew all are famous in the *Siyaḥ* and are of some eminence. Some of his relatives are supposed to have taken part in the campaign against the Crusaders when he gave him the title of Ibn al-‘Asakir. He was a famous scholar known. Ibn al-‘Asakir was a pious man, his only studies with his father and other teachers at Hama. He travelled widely and visited all the important cities of *Ḥamā* learning a long list of which is given by al-Sakhawī in his *Tarīkh*. He sat at the feet of more than 100 teachers of *Ḥamā* of whom more than 80 belonged to the law sect. Finally, he settled down at Damascus, his residence where he lived and spent wholly to the service of *Ḥamā*, the learned scholars, compiling books and manuscripts and delivering lectures on them in the college which had been founded for him by the great general and jurist, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zangī who had offered him several posts which he refused. He died in 571 (1175).

<sup>1</sup> *KZ* ii. 29.

His keen intellect, sharp and retentive memory, vast knowledge of traditions, sincerity and piety, and his devotedness to traditions and the sciences of tradition were acknowledged by all his contemporaries. His successors regarded him as one of the greatest and most reliable traditionists of his time. (To this the traditions related by him in places in Damascus must be an exception)

He compiled a large number of important books. A list of his works is given by Yaqūt in the *Ma'adin al-Istiqṣā'*. Many of these are still preserved in the various libraries in the East and in the West.

The most important and most voluminous of his works is the History of Damascus.<sup>1</sup> Its composition was taken up at the request of a friend of the author. But the work could not be continued on account of certain anxieties and sad events. The excessive desire of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zangī, however, to see the work completed, induced the author to complete it during his old age.<sup>2</sup>

In this book, after giving a short history of Syria in general and of Damascus in particular, and after stating briefly the superiority of Syria to other places on the basis of certain traditions extolling Syria in general and Damascus in particular, and after describing its prophets and monuments, Ibn al-Asakir collected together the biographies of the eminent men and women of various classes, called the *muṣannif*, who either lived in or visited Damascus. The biographical part begins with the articles on those whose names are *Asmā' al-ḥusnā*, which are headed by a short biography of the Prophet of Islam. In the arrangement of all the articles, alphabetical order in the names has been observed without any preference being given to any class of men. At the end are added the articles on men whose names are not known according to the alphabetical order of their *kunyat*, which are followed by those on the eminent women in the same order as in the case of men.

1. MUC, v, 146-149.

2. FD, v, 11.

Like al-Khatib, Buḥārī, al-Hākim, al-Asakir, various other traditionists and historians collected together the biographies of men of letters in general and of the narrators in particular, of various other towns. Ibn Mandaḥ (301-311) and Abū Nuʿaym (328-397) of Hama, collected together the biographies of the narrators who belonged to their town<sup>1</sup> and the work of the latter is preserved in the abridges of Ramḥān (Constantinople, 1505; Leiden<sup>2</sup>) and al-Hakīm (321-405) 993-1011. He compiled those of the narrators who belonged to Nisapur, etc. al-Hakīm, abridged by al-Saduk<sup>3</sup>. Abū al-Qasim Umar b. al-Nadīm al-Uqayrī, generally known as Ibn al-Athir (588-686) 1191-1250, collected together the biographies of eminent men, including a large number of traditionists of Meppa in about 50 volumes. It was supplemented by his different successors<sup>4</sup>. Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī (566-592) 1113-1167 compiled a biographical dictionary of many of the traditionists of Meppa, 50 vols.<sup>5</sup> The traditionists of Wāsiṭ, of Kūfa, of Hama, of Hama, etc. Qazwīn and of many other towns found their biographies in al-Dubayḥī<sup>6</sup> (538-637) 1162-1239. Ibn al-Najīb<sup>7</sup>, Ibn Saʿdī<sup>8</sup> (173-263) 876-876, Ibn al-Bazzaz<sup>9</sup> and al-Rāḍī<sup>10</sup> respectively.

Over and above the biographical dictionaries of the traditionists according to living in particular towns, there were also some dictionaries of the biographies of the narrators living in certain provinces, e.g. Arabia, Asia, Africa, Sindh, Egypt, Khorasan, etc. Ibn al-Fardī, Ibn Bashkwal, al-Humaydī and others.

(1) WA, No. 32, 631.

(2) KT, 83, Cat. Ar. Mus., Leiden.

(3) WA, No. 626, TK.

(4) KZ, u, 1256.

(5) WA, No. 406.

(6) *Ibid.* No. 672.

(7) MUd, i, 410, KZ, u, 143.

(8) WA, No. 502.

(9) KZ, u, 157.

(10) *Ibid.* pp. 1401.



## CHAPTER IX

### SCIENCES OF TRADITION—Contd.

#### [\**Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*]

#### CRITICISM AND TECHNIQUES OF HADITH

Side by side with the *Ḥadīth* literature, there also developed the methods of criticism and the techniques of *Ḥadīth*. It is natural for a reasonable person who may receive the report of an event in which he may be interested to enquire about the character and reliability of the reporter as well as the likelihood of the event which has been reported to him. In the Qur'ān, at any rate, we find clear indication of the criticism of the reporters of an event as well as of the likelihood of it. It emphasised the principle of the criticism of the reporters of an event in the verse XIX: 6—“O you who believe! If an unrighteous person comes to you with a report, look carefully into it.” The principle of the plausibility of a statement has also been indicated in the Qur'ān in several places. The accusation against A'ishah has been described as an evident falsehood<sup>1</sup> because her character was above all suspicion. The Qur'ān has also rejected as unreasonable and unfounded, the theory of the sonship of Ezra and of Jesus, which was asserted by the Jews and the Christians.<sup>2</sup>

The Prophet Muhammad also criticised many of the reporters, and made fun of superstitious beliefs of the Jews and of the pagan Arabs as unreasonable and foolish.

After the Prophet's death, when his *Ḥadīth* were sought after and were reported by many of his Companions, several Companions criticised some of the reporters and rejected some of their reports. Ali said about the report of a *Ḥadīth* by Mu'qil b. Sūmān that he could not accept the report of an uncultured, solvent Bedouin.<sup>3</sup> Umar b. al-Khattāb

1. Qur'ān, xxiv: 12.

2. *Ibid.* ix: 30.

3. NA, 480. J1. Ah. ii: 197.

said in the presence of many Companions that he could not give up the Book of God and the practice of His Prophet because of the report of a woman—Fatimah bint Qays, for no one could tell whether she was right or wrong and whether she remembered what she reported or had forgotten.<sup>1</sup>

Amr b. Yasar once reported a *Hadith* of the Prophet with regard to *Tayammum* in an assembly of the Companions in which Umar b. al-Khattab was also present. On hearing the *Hadith* Umar said to Amr: "Fear God!"<sup>2</sup> This shows that Umar did not accept what Amr had reported. The *Sahih* of Muslim contains a report in which Ibn Abbas criticised various fragments of 'Abi b. 'Abi Jamb.<sup>3</sup> When Mu'awidh b. al-Rak' reported in an assembly of the Companions that the Prophet had said that he who professed that there was no God but Allah would not be put into hell-fire, 'Abi Asyab b. Anan remarked that he did not think that the Prophet ever had said any such thing.<sup>4</sup> Many other criticisms of the transmission of the reporters of *Hadith* by their fellow Companions, e.g., 'Aishah, Umar b. al-Khattab, Ibn 'Abbas and others, may be easily gathered from works on *Hadith*—e.g. *Umm al-Ri'as*. These criticisms of the Companions by one another show that they are not above criticism. As a matter of fact, according to the principles accepted by most of the Sunni Muslim scholars, no one except the Prophets is infallible. And even the Prophets are liable to commit mistakes in matters which do not concern the religions revealed to them.

The practice of criticising the *Hadith* of the Prophet and their reporters by the Companions was followed by the traditionists of the later generations. Shu'ba b. al-Hajjaj, Yaqub b. Sa'id al-Qat'ifi, 'Ali b. al-Madini, Ahmad b. Hanbal and many other traditionists criticised the reporters of the *Hadith*, pointed out their character, and fixed up the

[1] *Ibid.* i, 13.

(2) SM, i, 61 (*B. al-Tayammum*).

(3) *Ibid.* i, 10.

(4) SB, i, 141.

degree of their reliability. Thus there developed in Arabic two important branches of literature: 1. *Ilm Ri'āyat al-Hadith* which is also called *Mustashāh al-Hadith* (the science of narration or techniques of *Hadith*). 2. *Ilm al-Jarh wa al-Ta'dil* (the science of criticism of the reporters).

1. The earliest treatise received by us containing matters connected with the *Ri'āyat* or transmission of *Hadith* is the *al-Risālah* of al-Shāfi'ī (767-820 A.D.), which deals mainly with the jurisprudence of the Shāfi'ī system of Islamic law. It was followed by the works of Abū Muhammad al-Ramhurmuzī (d. ca. 350-961), al-Hakīm (d. 403-1012), Abū Nu'aym (745-1038), and of al-Khatib al-Baghdādī (1002-1071) who systematized the matter described by his predecessors in his *Kitāb al-Istisnā'*. He was followed by Qasbi (d. 1139) and Abū Hafs, each of whom wrote a treatise on the subject. After them Ibn al-Sulāh (d. 643-1245) compiled together the results of the works of all the previous writers on the subject, adding to them some of his own observations in his book known as *Kitāb 'Ilm al-Hadith*. He was followed by numerous writers on the subject like Ibn Kathīr (d. 702-1372), al-Ḥāqī and others.<sup>1</sup> The *Fath al-Mughrib*, which is al-Sakhāwī's commentary on the *Uṣūl* of al-Ḥāqī, and the *Tadrib al-Rāy*, which is a commentary on the *Tamdhin* of al-Nawāwī, contain exhaustive treatment of *Ilm Ri'āyat al-Hadith*.

al-Shāfi'ī and others have described the qualifications necessary for a transmitter of *Hadith* as follows:—'He (the transmitter) must be of firm faith, well known for his truthfulness in what he reported. He should understand its contents, should know well how the change in expression affects the ideas expressed therein. He should report *maṭhūl* what he learnt from his teachers, and not narrate in his own words the sense of what he had learnt. He must possess a retentive memory and should remember his book well, if he reported from it. He should be free from making a report

(1) TR, p. 9.

on the authority of those whom he met, what he did not learn from them. His report must be in agreement with what has been reported by those who are recognized to have good memory, if they also have transmitted these reports.<sup>1</sup>

All the authorities on the subject, the traditionists as well as the jurists, are unanimously of the opinion that a transmitter of a tradition, in order to be acceptable, must be of full legal age and age and proved integrity and have good memory. He must be well-versed in the method of learning, preserving and transmitting the traditions. He must be thoroughly conversant with the names, careers and characters of the earlier reporters of traditions, as well as with the various classes of them and their defects and special characteristics.

The writers on the subject have divided the traditions into three classes, according to the degree of their reliability or accuracy, of the perfection or imperfection of the chain of their transmitters, the freedom of their texts from hidden defects and their acceptance or rejection by the Companions, the Followers and their Successors.

These three classes are: (i) the *Sahih*<sup>2</sup> or Genuine, (ii) the *Hasan* or the Fair, and (iii) the *Dalil* or the Weak. The Weak traditions have been subdivided according to the degree of defects in their reporters or in the texts of the reports themselves. These subdivisions fall into several categories, e.g. the *mu'allaq* (the suspended), the *maquf* (interrupted), the *munqati'* (broken), the *mu'adal* (incomplete), the *Mushtaf* (a tradition having a mistake in Isnād or in the text), the *Shādh* (a tradition with a reliable Isnād but contrary to another similarly attested tradition), the *Mudfū'* (the forged), etc. These and other techniques of *Hadith* have been fully explained and discussed in the works on *Uloom al-Hadith*. But the authorities on the subject differ from one another in their interpretation

(1) RSh, 99.

(2) According to the traditionists, the term *al-Sahih* does not mean that the tradition is actually true and genuine, but that it fulfils the conditions laid down by them for a reliable tradition.

of some of these technical terms. Some of these different interpretations have been explained by al-Sakhawī and al-Suyūṭī in their works which have been already mentioned.

The writers on *ʿIlm al-Hadīth* have also described the methods of learning, preserving, teaching and writing down the traditions in book form. They have also described the methods of counting the manuscripts with their original copies as well as other matters connected with the subject.

2. *ʿIlm al-Jarh wa al-Taʿdīl* — *The Science of Criticism of the reporters of Hadith*. This science forms a very important part of *ʿIlm al-Riḥāl* which has been already dealt with in some detail.<sup>1</sup> A short but complete description of its origin and development has been given by al-Jazāʾirī.<sup>2</sup>

The traditionists as well as the jurists, however, have also divided the traditions according to the number of their transmitters during the first three generations of the Muslims, into — a. *The Mutawāṭṭir*, b. *The Maʿthūr*, and c. *The Ḍaʿīf*.

The *Mutawāṭṭir* are the traditions which have been transmitted through all the first three generations of the Muslims by such a large number of transmitters as cannot be reasonably expected to agree on a falsehood. There is a difference of opinion about the number of the transmitters necessary for it during each of the first three generations of the Muslims. Some authorities fix it at seven, some at forty, some at seventy,<sup>3</sup> and some at a much higher number.<sup>4</sup> Very few of the traditions received by us belong to the category of the *Mutawāṭṭir*. They have been collected together by al-Suyūṭī in his *al-Jarh wa al-Taʿdīl* *Maʿthūr al-Mutawāṭṭir*.<sup>5</sup>

The *Maʿthūr* are the traditions which being transmitted originally in the first generation by two, three or four

1. See *supra*, pp. 189ff.

2. FN, 113-118.

3. NA, 176.

4. TR, 190.

5. *Ibid.*, 191.

transmitters were later on transmitted on their authority, by a large number of transmitters in the next two generations. Such traditions are also called the *Mutafid*. To this class belong a large number of traditions which are included in all the collections of *Uṣūl* and constitute the main foundations of the Islamic law.

The *Ḥād* are the traditions which were transmitted during the first three generations of the Muslims by one to four transmitters only.

The traditions have been also subdivided into two classes: (1) those that have been narrated by all their transmitters *mutawatir*, the expressions used by all of them being identical, and (2) those traditions the contents of which have been reported by their transmitters in their own words.

#### THE LEGAL IMPORTANCE OF TRADITIONS

The legal importance of all these three classes of traditions has been discussed in the works on Islamic Jurisprudence. The first two classes are recognized by all the important Sunni jurists as the second important source of Islamic law since the lifetime of the Prophet. The last of them, i.e. the *Ḥād*, has been accepted as superior to *Qiyas* (Analogy) by all the important Sunni schools of Islamic law except that of Imam Mālik, who gives superiority to *Qiyas* in face of the *Ḥād* traditions.

As a matter of fact, the acceptance of *Hadith* as a source of Islamic law has been advocated in the Qur'ān which says, "Whatever the Apostle gives to you, take it, and whatever he forbids, abstain from it" <sup>1</sup>. The Prophet also very often emphasised the importance of his *Hadith* for his followers <sup>2</sup>. He as well as his immediate successors took the knowledge of *Hadith* into consideration while appointing the state officials. According to Darimi, whenever any legal case came to Abū

(1) Qur'ān, LIX, 7.

(2) SD, 26.



Bakr, he looked into the Qur'ān and decided the case according to it, if he found it there. But if he failed to find it in the Qur'ān, he referred to the practice of the Prophet and decided the case accordingly. If he failed to find it there also, he inquired from the other Companions about it, and if they informed him of any decision of the Prophet in the matter, he thanked God and decided the case accordingly. But if the Companions failed to cite any decision of the Prophet, Abū Bakr collected the leaders of the people, and sought their advice, and after they arrived at an agreed decision, he ordered according to it.<sup>1</sup>

The same was the practice of 'Umar also. Whenever any question of law came to him for decision and he failed to find any authority for it in the Qur'ān, he inquired from his fellow Companions whether they knew any *Hadith* on the subject. If they reported any relevant tradition and also produced sufficient evidence in their support, he accepted the tradition and gave his judgment according to it. He asked an assembly of the Companions when the problem of the delivery of a dead child by a woman on account of being attacked by another woman arose to recall to him any *Hadith* on the subject, which they might know. Mughira related a *Hadith* on the subject. 'Umar asked him to bring a witness to support him in his narration. Muhammad b. Maslama supported Mughira. 'Umar then accepted the *Hadith* and decided the case accordingly.<sup>2</sup> Many similar cases are mentioned in the *Hadith* works e.g. the fixation of the number of *takbir* in the *Jum'ah* prayer, the imposition of the poll-tax on the Zoroastrians,<sup>3</sup> the use of *tayammum* in the case of night-pollution.<sup>4</sup> In all these cases, *Ahadith* were sought out and laws were laid down according to them.

(1) SD, 32-33.

(2) SB, ii, 124.

(3) *Ibid.*, 137; RSh, 114.

(4) SAD, i, 52.

There were also cases which were decided by the Companions according to their own opinion.<sup>1</sup> *Ra'i* on account of the want of knowledge of any *Hadith* on the subject. But they changed their decisions as soon as they came to know of it. There are reported cases in which the Companions like Abū al-Daūd and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī migrated away from a place because some of the people living there preferred their own personal opinions to the traditions which were related to them.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, there were cases in which 'Umar and some other Companions on being told of a *Hadith* on any subject, did not follow it and gave their judgment against its obvious sense and accuracy on their own opinion. During the caliphate of Umar there arose the important problem of the right to the left part of the body for the relatives of the Prophet. The Prophet's practice was in its favour. It was discussed for several days in an assembly of the Companions, and after a long discussion Umar decided against the practice of the Prophet and what was considered to be the command of the Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup> For he held that the verses of the Qur'ān and the basic Islamic principle did not justify the continuance of the practice of the Prophet after his death.<sup>4</sup> There are mentioned several other cases of this type in *Hadith* works. But a close scrutiny of all these cases shows that the *Hadith* of the Prophet was not rejected altogether. It was either differently interpreted, or the memory and the understanding of the reporters were questioned.

The Muslim doctors, however, have discussed the basic problem of the nature and character of the words and deeds of the Prophet. Many of them are of the opinion that every word and action of the Prophet is of religious character and

On *Ra'i* and *Qiyā* see SB, book 'Fiqh' ch. *dhann aur ā'yat al*, and Asqalani's commentary see the same.

(2) KSB, 1: 322.

(3) See Asqalani's commentary on SB, book *Fard al-ahkam* ch. *Qiyat al-Imām* and various other places.

(4) al-Fā'iq, II, 198-201.

must be literally followed by every Muslim. Others differentiate between what he said or did as a Prophet and what he said and did as an ordinary man. Some of the Muslim doctors are of the opinion that what he said or did as an ordinary man has no religious character and, therefore, need not be followed by all the Muslims. For the Prophet himself said: 'I am a human being. When I command you to do any thing concerning your religion, then accept it, and when I recommend to you to do any thing on account of my personal opinion, then you should know that I am also a human being'.<sup>1</sup> This means that the latter recommendation may or may not be accepted. These personal actions and likes and dislikes of the Prophet also are of two classes: (1) those which are restricted to him only on account of his being in a privileged position as a prophet, and (2) those which may be followed by other Muslims also.

All the orthodox Muslim jurists, however, are unanimously of the opinion that every tradition of the Prophet which is proved to be reliable according to the canons laid down by them and is of religious character, is of great legal importance, second only to that of the Qur'ān. In this there is no difference of opinion between the traditionists and those who are known as *Ashab al-Ra'y* (the people of opinion). All the important Muslim Jurists belonging to the first three generations of the Muslims preferred the traditions to *Qiyās*. As a matter of fact, many of them refused to express their own opinion on legal matters in cases in which no tradition was known to them.<sup>2</sup> The practices followed by the Companions were also accepted as legal authority by the Muslims of the next two generations, because they reasonably presumed that they must have been based on the traditions and the practices of the Prophet which were followed by the Companions scrupulously after due consideration. This was the basis of the principle followed by Imām Mālik in accepting the practices of the Companions as an important legal authority.

1. SM, II, 264, HB, I, 249-50. Indian ed. Lahore 1351 A.H.

2. SD, 26ff., RSh, 117-19, JBl, II, 31-33.

But the important Muslim jurists differed among themselves about the legal significance of those traditions about the reliability of which they were not certain. To this class of traditions belong the *Ḍaʿīf* category of them. Imām Abū Hanīfa and Imām Mālik did not consider all the traditions belonging to this category as superior to *Qiyās*. Imām Mālik preferred *Qiyās* to all *Ḍaʿīf* traditions which were not backed by the practices of the Companions and the Followers. Imām Abū Hanīfa accepted some of them and rejected others, as was the practice of Umar b. al-Khattāb<sup>1</sup>. He accepted them in connection with ordinary matters, if he was satisfied about the legal acumen and instinct of the reporter. But in cases of intricate legal problems, he rejected them unless they were supported by circumstantial evidence and basic Islamic principles.

But Imām al-Shāfiʿī preferred the *Ḍaʿīf* traditions to *Qiyās* in all cases. He has tried to prove it in all his works by quoting a large number of cases in which the reports of single individuals were accepted by the Prophet himself and, after him, by many of the Companions also.

It may thus be seen that the difference of opinion between the various orthodox Sunni schools of Muslim law is not with regard to the acceptance of *Ḥadīth* in general as an important source of Islamic law, but about a particular class of it. It has been already shown that the first three generations of the Muslims treated those *Ḥadīth* and *sunan* of the Prophet, which, they considered to be reliable and of religious importance, to be the second important source of Islamic laws. It is, therefore, unwarranted to assert that the *Ḥadīth* were not considered as an important source of Islamic law during the classical period (as a modern European orientalist has tried to prove.<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> *al-Fatāwā* Lucknow 1898 by Shabb Nūmānī, II, 196.

(2) Prof. Joseph Schacht in OMJ.

THE PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM OF *Hadith*

The traditionists and the jurists have developed some sound principles for the criticism of *Hadith*. These principles are described in the works on *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth* and *Ḥisn al-Dīn*, and some of them may also be gathered from the works on the *Mawḍūʿāt* and the *Asnāʾ al-Khṭaʾ*.

As every *Hadith* consists of two parts—1. the *Isnād*—the chain of narrators, and 2. the *Matn*—the text—the principles of the criticism of *Hadith* may also be classified into two categories: 1. those relating to the *Isnād*, and 2. those relating to the text.

1. The criticism of the *Isnād*—its origin and earliest application to *Hadith* and its development, and the origin and development of biographical literature in connection with it, and other connected matters—including the necessary qualifications of the narrators—have been already discussed in detail. The principles of its criticism, which are based on them, may be summarized as follows:

a) Every *Hadith* must be traced back to its original reporter through a continuous chain of transmitters, whose identity, unquestionable character and high qualities of head and heart must have been established.

b) Every *Hadith* reporting an event which took place every now and then in the presence of a large number of people, must have been originally reported by several narrators.

It is on account of these principles that a large number of traditions, which do not follow them, have been rejected by all the important traditionists, and are included in the works on the *Mawḍūʿāt*. An example of the class is the *Hadith* reported by Abū Hurayra alone that the Prophet used to recite *Basmillāh* loudly in all his prayers.<sup>1</sup> Another example is the *Hadith* said to have been reported by Abū Bakr alone which says that at the time of the Call for the prayers, the



Muslims kissed their thumbs when the Prophet's name was recited. Each of these traditions is reported by the traditionists because it is reported by a small Companion, who is the events reported took place several times every day in the presence of a large number of Muslims.

The genuineness of the Isnāds, however, is no proof of the actual genuineness of the text of the traditions to which they are attached.<sup>1</sup> According to the traditionists, even if the Isnād is faultless, the text may be a forgery. Ibn al-Jawzī has a pertinent and quoted the remark: 'If you find a *Hadīth* contrary to reason or to what has been established to be correct, reported for against the accepted principles, then you should know that it is forged.'<sup>2</sup> Abū Bakr b. al-Tayyib is reported to have remarked that it is a proof of the forged character of a tradition that it be against reason and common experience, or that it be contrary to the explicit text of the Qur'ān or the Mutawattir traditions or the Concise *Imā*, or that it contains the report of an important event taking place in the presence of a large number of people, whereas it is reported by a single individual, or that it lays down excessive punishment for minor faults, or promises high rewards for insignificant good deeds.<sup>3</sup> al-Hākim has given several examples of forged and weak traditions having sound Isnāds.<sup>4</sup> al-Sayyidī has remarked that very often, there are found weak or forged traditions with sound Isnāds, and he has given several examples of them.<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact, the only sure guidance to the determination of the genuineness of a tradition is as remarked by Ibn al-Mahdī and Abū Zar'ā: a faculty that is developed by a traditionist through long continuous study of the traditions, and as a result of constant discussions about them with other traditionists.<sup>6</sup>

1. 'It has been pointed out that a sound Isnād does not ensure the truth of the text.' See pp. 22-26 in his introduction to *al-Maṣābiḥ*.

1 R. 100.

1 R. 100.

3. 1 H. 100. The text of the tradition is: '... R. 100. p. 100.

1 R. 100.

1 R. 100.



On the basis of the above mentioned and other similar remarks by important traditionists, the following general principles for the criticism of the text of the traditions may be laid down:

a. A tradition must not be contrary to the other traditions which have been already accepted by the authorities on the subject as authentic and reliable. Nor should it be contrary to the text of the Qur'an or the accepted basic principles of Islam ;

b. a tradition should not be against the dictates of reason and natural laws and common experience.

c. the traditions containing disproportionately high rewards for insignificant good deeds or disproportionately severe punishments for ordinary sins must be rejected ;

d. the traditions containing the excellent virtues of the various chapters of the Qur'an should not be generally accepted as reliable ;

e. the traditions containing the excellence and praises of persons, tribes and particular places should be generally rejected;

f. the traditions which contain detailed prophecies of the future events with dates must be rejected.

g. and the traditions containing such remarks of the Prophet as may not be in keeping with his prophetic position, or such expressions as may not be suitable to him, should be rejected.

It is on account of these principles that a large number of traditions which are included in such collections of them as are commonly thought to be reliable, have been rejected by the compilers of the standard *Hadith*-collections, and they are included in the collections of forged traditions like those of Ibn al-Jauzi,<sup>1</sup> Mallā, Abū al-Qā'im<sup>2</sup> al-Samkani<sup>3</sup> and others.

(1) *Kitaḥ al-Mawdu'āt*.

(2) *Isā'il al-Mashā'ir* or *Isā'il al-Mawdu'āt*.

(3) 131.

Among them al-Shawkānī has collected together in his book the results of the researches of the previous writers on the subject. He has also given the names of the *Hadith* works in which the forged traditions are to be found. Moreover, in many cases, he has fixed up the narrators who forged these traditions.

In the standard collections of the traditions also, in spite of the great care of their compilers, there are still found some weak or forged traditions, which have been discussed and criticised by their commentators and some other authorities on traditions. The following are some examples of them:

a. The *Hadith* reported by al-Bukhārī, that Adam's height was sixty yards has been criticised by Ibn Hajar on the basis of the measurement of the homesteads of some of the ancient nations which do not show that their inhabitants were of an enormous height.<sup>1</sup>

b. The *Hadith* reported by al-Bukhārī, that the verse of the Qur'ān XLIX: 9 'And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them,' refers to the quarrel between the party of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and that of the Companions of the Prophet, has been criticised by Ibn Kattāb, who has pointed out that the verse refers to a quarrel between two parties of the Muslims, whereas 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy had not accepted Islam even outwardly at the time when the verse was revealed.<sup>2</sup>

c. The *Hadith* that if Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet, had lived, he would have been a prophet, has been severely criticised by al-Nawāwī, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athār, and al-Shawkānī has included it among the forged traditions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Kutub al-Imam al-Shawkānī* (ed. by IB) I, pp. 1-10, VII, 51-231.

<sup>2</sup> See *Kutub al-Imam al-Shawkānī* (ed. by IB) ed. cit.

<sup>3</sup> See *Uzūm al-Imam al-Shawkānī* (ed. by IB) I, 103-104 and Ugh. Also see FM, III, 1-2, a different version of this *Hadith* see SH, II, 434. Kretschmer, cit. I, 117-118.

d. The *Hadith* reported by Ibn Majah on the excellence of Qazwin (his own hometown) have been declared by the traditionists as forged ones.

e. The *Hadith* reported by some traditionists, that the who loved, kept clean and died, is a martyr, has been declared by Ibn al-Qayyim as forged and he lies. He says that even if the Isrâd of this *Hadith* were as bright as the sun, it would not cease to be wrong and fictitious.<sup>1</sup>

f. The *Hadith* reported by al-Bukhari that Abdurrahman will pray to God on the Day of Judgment saying "O Lord Thou hast promised that Thou wouldst not punish me on the Day of Judgment" has been criticised and rejected by al-Isma'ili (cited by Ibn Hajar).<sup>2</sup>

g. Most of the traditions concerning the coming of al-Dajal and of the Mahdi, and those concerning Khadir are declared by the traditionists as forged ones and are not used in the works on the *Mawdu'at*.

Many other similar instances of the criticism of the text of traditions included in their collections by even standard, authoritative compilers may be gathered from the commentaries on these compilations and the works on the *Uddat al-Rijal* and the *Mawdu'at*. It is thus clear that the Muslim doctors criticised not only the Isrâd of each tradition but also its text, and did not fail to point out its defect, weakness and its unreliability or its forged character (determined in accordance with the principles which have been mentioned above).

At the end, I may add that there is enough material available for the compilation of a standard collection of completely authentic traditions out of the already generally accepted compilations of them, after examining each tradition contained in them, according to the principles already laid down by the

(1) ZM, 97.

(2) FB, viii, 354.

Muslim traditions—as well as according to those which may be prescribed by the modern literary critics. It is, of course, a tremendous task, but certainly it can be achieved with the combined efforts of such Muslim scholars and modern Orientalists as may be interested in the subject.

THE END



- Bahrayn, 28, 31  
*Balādhur*, 74, 99  
*Balādhuri*, 172, 178  
*Balkh*, 88, 112, 119  
*Basra*, 11, 31, 46, 49, 78, 90,  
 91, 103, 104, 144, 157,  
 172, 183, 188  
*Beduin*, 9, 41, 189  
*Blood-money*, 39  
*Booty*, one-fifth part of, 196.  
*Buddhist*, 183  
*Bukhārī*, 50, 62, 87, 99, 100,  
 101, 105, 107, 110, 136,  
 156, 171, 179, 180.  
*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 7, 12, 13,  
 16, 18, 19, 27, 32, 38, 43,  
 69, 88ff., 97, 122, 125,  
 145, 147, 182, 202, 203  
*Byzantium*, 3  
  
*Caetani*, 129, 130, 134  
*Cairo*, 77, 150, 181.  
*Calendar*, 166  
*Call (for the prayers)*, 199.  
*Christians*, 3, 132, 189.  
*Companions (of the Prophet)*,  
 41, 8, 13, 15-18, 21ff.,  
 23, 31, 33, 37, 39, 41,  
 43-48, 50, 52, 63, 61, 68,  
 65-67, 71, 75, 92, 94, 109,  
 129, 131, 133, 137, 142,  
 146, 17, 176ff., 185,  
 189-90, 192, 195, 197, 200  
*Constantinople*, 183  
*Corfu*, 1, 184, 186  
*Crusaders*, 186  
  
*Dajāl*, 203  
*Damascus*, 46, 67, 96, 112,  
 136, 146, 151, 152, 171,  
 183, 184, 186, 187  
*Dāraqutnī*, 96 (*k. al-Istidrāk*),  
 102, 116ff., (*Sunan*).  
*Dārimī*, 102, 147, 194.  
*Sunan al-Dārimī*, 16, 113ff.,  
 124, 140, 148  
*Dellā*, 121.  
*Dhahabī*, 49, 76, 181.  
*Iadḥkīrat al-Ḥuffāz*, 121  
*Iabaqāt al-Ḥujjāt*, 171.  
*Dhu' al-Rummaḥ*, 41.  
*Dhuhli*, 90, 99  
  
*Egypt*, 8, 10, 30, 35, 67, 88,  
 90, 98, 103, 106, 112, 115,  
 117, 120, 122, 146-47, 151,  
 170, 176, 188  
*Elvira*, 98.  
*Enness*, 16, 47  
*Europe*, 16  
*Europe*, 170  
*Ezra*, 189  
  
*Fast*, 4, 49  
*Fārmah*  
*al-Sūfiyab*, 144  
*ḥant Ḥasan b. 'Alī al*  
*Daqrāq*, 145  
*ḥant Qays*, 190  
*Fatima*, 12, 65  
*Fiqh*, 9, 11-15, 72, 73, 78, 88,  
 95, 153  
*Futan*, 46, 134-35  
*Forgery*, 121, 126, 127ff., 137,  
 167  
  
*Goldziher*, 2, 11, 15, 19, 38,  
 41, 41, 45, 51, 63, 68, 70,  
 71, 85, 113, 122, 145, 147,  
 149, 151, 155



- Greeks, 130, 141.  
 Guillaume, 70
- Hadith al-Ahkām*, 12, 13f., 192  
 Hafsa bint 'Umar, 25, 30, 42, 143  
 Hāfi Khalīlah, 17, 75, 96, 99, 121, 181  
 Hākīm, 19, 47, 116, 118, 188, 191, 200  
 Hammām b. Munabbih, 15, 39, 71.  
 Hārūn al-Rashid, 53.  
 Hasan Baṣrī, 59, 65, 69, 143, 151  
 Hashmites, 77, 177  
 Hebrew, 141.  
 Heretics, 52, 128  
 Hijaz, 9, 67, 78, 90, 146.  
 Horowitz, 71, 72, 129, 130, 132, 134-36, 155, 166, 168, 176.  
 Hudaybiyah, 21.
- Ibn 'Abbās, 1, 14, 26, 29, 33f., 38-40, 42, 44, 63-64, 137, 154, 167, 172, 190.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 13, 14, 38, 180, 186, 202.  
 Ibn Abī Du'ād, 80.  
 Ibn 'Amr b. al-Ās, 6, 15, 26, 35, 37, 42, 64, 109, 154.  
*al-Ṣādiqah*, 15, 35, 38.  
 Ibn al-'Asākir, 69, 147, 170, 171.  
*Hist. of Damascus*, 140-170, 186ff  
 Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn, 13, 85, 124, 178, 180, 202
- Ibn Battūṭah, 147  
 Ibn al-Bukhārī, 140, 153  
 Ibn Hajar, 10, 14, 16, 33, 85, 148, 149, 170, 178, 181, 182, 202  
 Ibn Hanbal, 17, 27, 35, 56, 58, 62, 66, 74, 81, 87, 88, 92, 98, 109, 110, 112, 119, 127, 136, 156, 185, 190  
*Munad Ibn Hanbal*, 16, 77ff., 147  
 Ibn Hazm (Andalusī), 17, 122, 123, 127, 130ff  
 Ibn Ishāq, 73, 134.  
 Ibn Jauzī, 22, 200, 201  
 Ibn Khaldūn, 124  
 Ibn Māja, 13, 123, 124, 203  
 Ibn Mas'ūd, 14, 26, 35, 36, 37, 40  
 Ibn Nadīm, 10, 11, 81, 88, 99, 168, 173.  
 Ibn Sa'd, 10, 169, 172, 173ff  
*Tabaqāt*, 13, 41, 47, 55, 69, 169-71, 172ff  
 Ibn al-Ṣalāh, 93, 124, 164, 180, 191  
 Ibn Sallām, 138  
 Ibn Sirin, 40, 50, 60, 63, 134, 135, 143, 154, 157, 167.  
 Ibn Tawīl b. Mūsā - Ibn 14, 123.  
 Ibn Umar, 1, 27, 28, 30f., 35, 37, 40, 63, 64, 109, 110, 136, 137, 154, 156.  
 Ibrāhīm (the son of Muḥammad), 202.  
*Imā*, 12, 200.  
 Irfa, 8, 129, 111, 112

- Imlā'*, 51, 181.  
*Irāqī*, 93, 149, 181, 191.  
*Isnād*, 1, 5, 7, 12, 16, 19, 44, 52, 56, 58, 60, 91, 94, 100, 106, 109, 117, 121, 126, 129ff., 132, 135, 137, 163-67, 178, 192, 199, 200, 203.  
*Jāmi'*, 14, 15, 18, 41, 57, 100, 102.  
*Jaina*, 133.  
*al-Jarḥ u' al-Ta'dīl*, 191, 193.  
*Jesus*, 189.  
*Jews*, 3, 29, 130, 132, 136, 189.  
*Jumu'a bint Aḥmad*, 145.  
*Kāmil*, 41.  
*Karimah al-Marwaziyah*, 145.  
*Khaḍir*, 203.  
*Khaṭīb Baghdādī*, 4, 145, 164, 170-73, 178, 180, 183ff.  
*k. al-Kifāyah*, 140, 153, 156, 191.  
*Khawārij*, 54.  
*Khaybar*, 28.  
*Khudrī, Abū Sa'id*, 4, 26, 34ff., 40.  
*Khurasan*, 73, 75, 77, 78, 103, 107, 112, 180.  
*Kūfah*, 11, 46, 47, 77, 90, 103, 109, 157, 172, 176, 183, 188.  
*Latin*, 141.  
*Le Strange*, 185.  
*Loth*, 168, 172.  
*Madīnah*, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 57, 61, 67, 86, 92, 127, 143, 144, 147, 172, 175, 176, 183.  
*Maghāzī*, 13, 37, 72, 73, 82, 102.  
*Mahabharata*, 133.  
*Mālik b. Anas*, 50, 52, 57, 61-64, 69, 109, 119, 136, 137, 156, 167, 194, 197, 198.  
*Muwaffā*, 110ff., 16, 27, 69, 73, 122, 124, 148.  
*Ma'mūn*, 66, 77, 79.  
*Mandqib*, 16, 82.  
*Manṣūr*, 57, 65, 88, 144.  
*Marwān*, 28, 64.  
*Mashhur*, 193.  
*Mata*, 44, 164, 199.  
*Mawdu'āt*, 5, 70, 83, 116, 127, 199, 203.  
*Mecca*, 2, 6, 11, 22, 30, 34, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 47, 89, 107, 114, 119, 150, 151, 152, 172, 176, 183.  
*Merv*, 57, 88, 119, 183, 188.  
*Mesopotamia*, 11, 30, 55, 67, 86, 88, 98, 103, 107, 115, 120, 170, 184.  
*Mihnah*, 79, 80.  
*Moses*, 132.  
*Mosaic period*, 130-32.  
*Mu'adh b. Jabal*, 7, 26, 46.  
*Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān*, 26, 33, 53, 64, 65, 72, 75, 135.

- Muhammad, 1-8, 21, 22,  
 27-35, 37-47, 52, 57, 60,  
 66, 67, 71, 119, 175.  
 the Prophet, 1, 2, 13, 15,  
 16, 17, 21, 42, 44, 52-56,  
 63, 71, 76, 82, 86, 87, 94,  
 97, 105, 108-10, 115, 120,  
 126-29, 131, 142, 160,  
 164-66, 176, 177, 181, 182,  
 187, 189, 190, 194-98,  
 200-201.
- Mujāhid, 34, 38.  
*Mu'jam*, 18, 19, 120.  
*Mukaththirun*, 27.  
*Muqatta'āt*, 84.  
 Murji'ah, 54.  
*Muṣannaf*, 14, 16, 17, 19, 87,  
 122, 125.  
 Muslim, 62, 87, 105, 107, 113,  
 119, 156, 171,  
*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 13, 16, 18,  
 19, 27, 33, 41, 88, 92,  
 97ff., 122, 125, 138, 147,  
 168, 190.  
*Muṣnad*, 14, 16, 17, 19, 73f.,  
 87, 114.  
*Musnid*, 17, 125.  
*Musnidah*, 146, 148.  
*Mustadrak*, 19.  
*Mustakhraj*, 19.  
 Mu'tasim, 79.  
 Mutawakkil, 77, 79.  
*Mutawātir*, 193, 200.  
 Mysticism, 15.
- Nadwi*, Saliyid Sulaymān, 32.  
 Najran, 3, 165.  
 Nakha'i, Ibrāhīm, 63.
- Nazā'i, 18, 62, 87, 102, 122.  
*Sunan al-Nazā'i*, 112ff.
- Nawāwī, 19, 41, 124, 173,  
 178, 181, 191, 202.
- Nishapur, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99,  
 103, 116, 118, 180.
- Palestine, 8.
- Patton, 78, 81.
- Persia, 3, 8, 30, 98, 103, 107,  
 115, 116, 120, 170, 184.
- Pilgrimage, 22, 47, 89, 102.
- Plutarch, 178.
- Poets, 1.  
 Poetry, 8.  
 Poems, 32.
- Prayer, 4, 55, 102.
- Prussian Academy of Sciences,  
 175.
- Qastallānī, 93, 96.
- Qayrawan, 183.
- Qazwin, 115, 116, 203.
- Qira'ah*, 116, 158.
- Qiyās*, 194, 197-98.
- Qur'ān, 1, 7-9, 16, 20, 32, 33,  
 35, 40, 42, 43, 48, 72, 81,  
 89, 93, 116, 122, 150, 160,  
 175, 176, 189, 194-7, 200-  
 201.  
 Doctrine of the creation  
 of the Qur'ān, 79.
- Quraysh, 2, 4, 6.
- Qayyās*, 53, 55ff.
- Rā'iyy*, 196, 197.
- Rāmhurmuzī, 164, 191.



- Rasā'il*, 14-16, 18, 19.  
 Robson, 129, 134, 135.  
 Romans, 130.  
  
 Sachau, 172, 176-78.  
 Saffāh, 144.  
 Ṣaḥīfah, 5, 8, 14, 15, 19, 35, 38, 40, 44, 45, 71.  
 Sa'id b. al-Musaiyib, 63, 65, 68, 69, 154, 167.  
 Sakhāwī, 150, 191, 193.  
 Samā', 51, 158.  
 Sam 'ānī, 103, 171, 186, 188.  
 Samarqand, 90, 92, 114.  
 Sanskrit, 133.  
 Schacht, 134-37.  
 Scholastic philosophers, 184.  
 Shāfi 'ī, 49, 62, 73, 109, 122, 136, 185, 198.  
     *Risālah*, 148, 191.  
     *Kitāb al-Umm*, 78.  
     *Musnad al-Shāfi'ī*, 78.  
     *Mabūf*, 78.  
     Shāfi'ites, 184.  
 Shī'ah, 56.  
 Siffin, 64, 77, 103.  
 Sijistānī, Muḥammad b. Kar-rām, 58.  
 Sitt al-Wuzarā, 146.  
 Spain, 8, 98, 170.  
 Sprenger, 10, 42, 43, 70, 170.  
 Subkī, 103, 104, 186, 188.  
 Ṣaḥīh, 7, 35, 42.  
 Sūfī, 54.  
*Sunan* works, 13, 102, 122.,  
*Sunnah*, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 35.  
  
*Sutras*, 133.  
 Suyūṭī, 16, 85, 136, 148, 178, 181, 193, 200.  
 Syria, 8, 10, 11, 67, 85, 95, 103, 115, 120, 148, 151, 157, 170, 176, 184, 187.  
 Syriac, 141.  
  
 Ṭabarānī, 18, 120, 147.  
 Ṭabarī, Ibn Jarīr, 62, 131, 178.  
 Ṭabī 'ūn, 5, 12, 21, 34, 40, 60, 77, 176.  
*Tafsīr*, 16, 34, 100, 127.  
 Ṭā'if, 35, 38.  
 Talmudic, 130, 136.  
*Taqīya*, 79.  
*Tā'rikh*, 16, 167.  
 Tarsus, 79.  
*Tawwaf al-Aqālim*, 68.  
 Ṭayālīsī, 16, 27, 87.  
     *Musnad al-Ṭayālīsī*, 73, 74ff., 125, 140.  
*Tayammum*, 190, 195.  
 Testament, Old, New, 132.  
 Thaurī, Sufyān, 11, 59, 61, 63-66, 74, 109, 154, 167.  
 Theocracy, 3.  
 Theodocus, 72.  
 Tibet, 133.  
 Tirmidhī, 18, 62, 113.  
     *Shamā'il*, 47.  
     *'Ilal*, 38, 111.  
     *Sunan*, 39, 87, 102, 107ff., 122, 123.  
  
 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit, 26, 63, 167.  
 Uhud, 13, 34, 37, 176.

- 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 9,  
 10, 69, 165.  
*Murnad* 'Umar b. 'Abd al-  
 'Aziz, 73, 129, 143, 154.  
 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, 1, 6,  
 8, 9, 26, 28, 31, 34-36, 55,  
 75, 128, 189, 190, 195,  
 196, 198.  
*Jāmi'* 'Umar, 153.  
 Umayyad, 9, 28, 54, 55, 64,  
 65, 77, 78, 112, 134, 154,  
 156.  
 Umm Dardā', 143.  
 Umm Ḥabībah, 143.  
 Umm Hānī Maryam, 150.  
 Umm Kulthūm, 34.  
*Upanishad*, 133.  
 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, 72, 109,  
 110, 134, 155.  
 Uthmān b. 'Affān, 30, 36, 127,  
 128, 166.  
*Waḍu'*, 29.  
 Wāqidī, 39, 169, 172.  
*Wasāyā*, 15.  
 Wāsiṭ, 88, 183, 188.  
 Wüstenfeld, 103, 117.  
 Yahya b. Ma'in, 49, 55, 56,  
 87.  
 Yahya b. Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān,  
 33, 62, 63, 109, 167, 190.  
 Yaman, 7, 67, 78.  
 Yāqūt, 18, 103, 183, 187.  
 Yazid b. Hārūn, 83, 114, 167.  
 Zanjī, 104, 186, 187.  
 Zarqānī, 12, 39.  
 Zayd b. Thābit, 35, 40, 42.  
 Zaynab  
     bint al-Makki, 148, 153.  
     bint al-Sha'ri, 148.  
     bint Sulaymān, 144.  
 Zoroastrians, 195.  
 Zuhri, 9, 10, 48, 60, 62, 69,  
 105, 134, 136, 140, 155.